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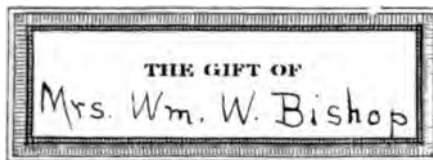
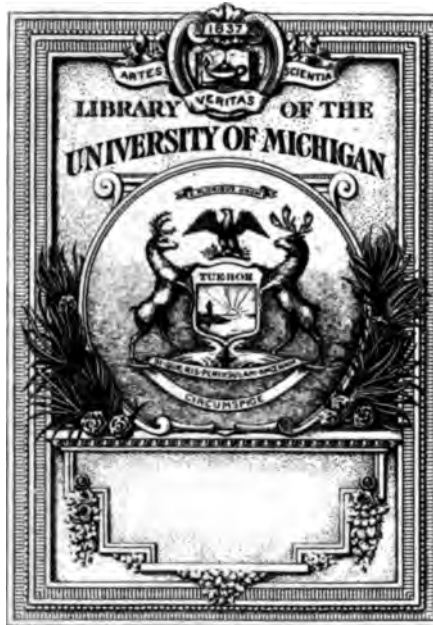
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THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN FOR SOCIETY

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THE SOUTH MOBILIZING FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

ADDRESSES DELIVERED
AT THE
SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
APRIL 25-29, 1913



EDITED BY
JAMES E. McCULLOCH

NASHVILLE
SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS
1913

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MISS AGNES BISHOP, 1902
L. H. BISHOP, 1902

Mrs. Wm. W. Bishop
Jr.
7-6-1926

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE Southern Sociological Congress, which was inaugurated by Gov. Ben W. Hooper, of Tennessee, conducted its first convention in Nashville, May 7-10, 1912. The report of the Nashville Congress was published in a bound volume entitled "The Call of the New South."

Profiting by the experience of the first year's work, the Program Committee selected the subjects and speakers for the second Congress with the twofold aim of producing not only a good program, but also a vital, up-to-date, reliable book. Those who attended the Atlanta Congress, April 25 to 29, 1913, were unanimous in saying, "The program is great." But greater even than the program is this book, which contains the important findings and speeches of the Congress.

In addition to this volume, two other books have been published by the Congress this year. By special request six of the addresses at the Atlanta Convention have been published in an eighty-page booklet entitled "The Challenge of Social Service." The Departmental Conference on Race Problems also petitioned that the reports and addresses in that section be printed in a separate volume in addition to their publication in this large and complete report. In response to this request, the entire section on Race Problems has been published in a book of 148 pages, entitled "The Human Way."

As a result, therefore, of the Atlanta Congress several thousand books will be distributed as a further means of promoting this movement for social health and righteousness. Never before in the history of the South has there been such a social awakening and such a wealth of good literature on the social, civic, and economic questions of our country. "The Solid South for a Better Nation" is more than a slogan. "The Call of the New South" has been heard, and there is "the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees." The South is mobilizing for social

service. A new crusade is being marshaled for the purpose, not of rescuing an empty tomb in a foreign land, but of keeping thousands of tombs empty in our own country and of helping all the people to win "the more abundant life." It is the earnest hope of the members of the Sociological Congress that this book may constrain thousands of Southern patriots to enlist in this crusade.

The Bibliography, beginning on page 692, has been prepared largely by the Chairmen of the Departmental Conferences, to whom the Editor is indebted also for other aid and valuable suggestions. Special mention is due Mr. Curtis B. Haley, of Nashville, for his assistance in the reading of copy. It is with profound gratitude that the Editor makes acknowledgment of the generous financial support of Mrs. Anna Russell Cole, who has not only made possible these publications, but who has, by her benefaction, enabled the Congress itself to become an efficient and powerful agency for social health and justice.

THE EDITOR.

Nashville, July 1, 1913.

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I. PRELIMINARY

The Social Program

The Challenge of the Congress

Remarks of the Acting President

The Significance of the Southern Sociological Congress

THE SOCIAL PROGRAM OF THE CONGRESS

THE Southern Sociological Congress stands:

For the abolition of convict lease and contract systems, and for the adoption of modern principles of prison reform.

For the extension and improvement of juvenile courts and juvenile reformatories.

For the proper care and treatment of defectives, the blind, the deaf, the insane, the epileptic, and the feeble-minded.

For the recognition of the relation of alcoholism to disease, to crime, to pauperism, and to vice, and for the adoption of appropriate preventive measures.

For the adoption of uniform laws of the highest standards concerning marriage and divorce.

For the adoption of the uniform law on vital statistics.

For the abolition of child labor by the enactment of the uniform child labor law.

For the enactment of school attendance laws, that the reproach of the greatest degree of illiteracy may be removed from our section.

For the suppression of prostitution.

For the solving of the race question in a spirit of helpfulness to the negro and of equal justice to both races.

For the closest co-operation between the Church and all social agencies for the securing of these results.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE CONGRESS

THE Southern Sociological Congress is a challenge to the men and women of the whole South:

1. It is a challenge to the Southern fathers and mothers and all social workers to lift the burdens of labor from childhood and to make education universal.

2. It is a challenge to the men who make and administer laws to organize society as a school for the development of all her citizens rather than simply to be a master to dispose of the dependent, defective, and delinquent population with the least expense to the State.

3. It is a challenge to all citizens to rally to the leaders of all social reforms, so as to secure for the South civic righteousness, temperance, and health.

4. It is a challenge to Southern chivalry to see that justice is guaranteed to all citizens regardless of race, color, or religion, and especially to befriend and defend the friendless and helpless.

5. It is a challenge to the Church to prove her right to social mastery by a universal and unselfish social ministry.

6. It is a challenge to the present generation to show its gratitude for the heritage bequeathed to it through the toil and blood of centuries by devoting itself more earnestly to the task of making the nation a universal brotherhood.

7. It is a challenge to strong young men and women to volunteer for a crusade of social service, and to be enlisted for heroic warfare against all destroyers of public health and purity, and to champion all that makes for an ideal national life.

REMARKS OF THE ACTING PRESIDENT

REV. A. J. M'KELWAY, D.D., WASHINGTON, D. C.

It was that gentle humorist of Mississippi, Private John Allen, who once remarked that the chief occupation of the Vice President of the United States was that of worrying over the state of the President's health. I have been somewhat worried over the absence of Governor Hooper, President of the Congress; but seriously and sincerely so, because I know of the great work he has done for human welfare in our sister Commonwealth of Tennessee, and I had hoped to hear an inspiring message from him to-night. I shall not undertake at such short notice to make a formal address in his stead, but I deem it appropriate to make a few remarks concerning the scope of the Congress.

The purpose of this Congress is to study and improve social, civic, and economic conditions in the South. Its slogan is: "The solid South for a better nation." Its object is: "To enlist the entire South in a crusade of social health and righteousness." What do we mean by the South, the entire South, the solid South? The South, historically, is the section of the nation lying south of Mason and Dixon's line, which includes Maryland, the District of Columbia, West Virginia, Kentucky, and enough of Missouri to give a claim upon the whole State. Politically, the solid South included these border States and all to the south of them. But by either definition we must now include the three new States of Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona. The three may be fairly claimed as belonging to the political party that has so long been supreme in the South, for New Mexico, though divided politically, with a Democratic Governor and Representative, when it sent two Republicans to the United States Senate, compromised by electing a Confederate soldier and a son of a Confederate to these positions. Politically, the solid South may lose its significance. But climatically and historically there will always be the South. I have no patience with oratorical effusions that say, "Let us have no North, no South, no East, no

West." There is a North, there is a South, New England is. Let us magnify rather than minimize the fact that the South is. But let each section vie with the other in generous rivalry, for making the best of its own traditions, its own opportunities and resources, in the solving of its own problems for the welfare of humanity, in the exaltation of national patriotism, and in the enlargement of patriotism into philanthropy.

Yet, broadly speaking, all our problems are American problems. There is a racial problem that presents three differing phases for three different sections. It is the problem of the immigrant in the North, the problem of the alien on the Pacific Coast, the negro problem in the South. Yet the North has its share in the racial problem of the South, and the South has the beginnings of the immigrant problem, while the whole nation is affected by California's attitude toward the Asiatic races. And so with every question that is to be discussed at this Congress, or that can be discussed under the limitations which we have set for ourselves. There is no peculiarly Southern problem of poverty, or illiteracy, or crime; our problems of the city or of rural life and our problems of child welfare are the same problems throughout the nation. We simply mean by this gathering that there is a South; that there is a Southern Sociological Congress at which every Southern State is represented by appointed delegates, eighteen States in all, with the District of Columbia; that we have gathered here to know each other, to confer about our matters of social interest, and to devise remedies for abuses that prevail.

Surely no one can quarrel with our purpose, our object, or our platform.

But this Southern Congress is neither sectional nor provincial. It recognizes that many of our problems are new to us, and that we have the right to the wisdom and experience of the whole nation in solving these problems, just as we realize that the whole nation is interested in our solving them aright. The nation is watching to-day with a considerable degree of confidence the progress of a Southern administration of national affairs. With a Southern Pres-

ident, with five members of his Cabinet bred and born in the South, with Southern Chairmen of the important committees of the House and Senate, I have not yet heard the sectional remark that "the South is in the saddle." That was a phrase born of mingled fear and contempt. But the South has learned wisdom in these later days. Well for it and well for the nation, that the period of separateness is past. So we welcome to this Congress as teachers and advisors such eminent students and actors in the realm of human welfare as Julia C. Lathrop and Hastings H. Hart and Alexander Johnson and Owen Lovejoy and Charles Macfarland and Mornay Williams and Clifford Roe and Paxton Hibben and Henry F. Cope and Emery Lyon and S. Z. Batten, and that prophet, not without honor in his own country, Walter Rauschenbusch, the Beloved.

The work of Secretary J. E. McCulloch has resulted in a program that compares favorably with that of any of the National Conferences of Charities and Correction that it has ever been my privilege to attend. The volume containing the addresses delivered here will form no mean part of the literature of human welfare and of social justice. The thanks of the Congress are due especially to Mr. W. Woods White, Chairman of the Local Executive Committee, who has put the Congress under lasting obligations to him; and to his coworkers on that committee, and on the other committees consisting of Atlanta men and women. We trust that this session of the Congress will be not only a source of instruction and inspiration to the delegates from other States, but that it will be a lasting benediction to this city in the working out of its own problems, so that it shall be more than ever a city set upon a hill, that cannot be hid.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SOUTHERN
SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS*

DR. JOHN E. WHITE, ATLANTA, GA.

Ladies and Gentlemen: If you want to know what this Congress stands for, you will, of course, attend its sessions, for only by attention to its progress can one appreciate its full and complete significance. But, in order that you may have at least a "taste of the sauce" which I believe tinctures this Congress fundamentally, I will say that the Southern Sociological Congress stands for criticism. It means that Southern men have made up their minds that it is no longer necessary for folks outside of the South to criticise us, because we are going to criticise ourselves. A great many things have been said by outside folks which were injurious to the Southern section of the United States. We have at last come to the conclusion that the only way to get rid of criticism is for us to discover and remove the causes of all the evils that are in our midst. This Congress stands for constructive criticism at the hands of Southern men.

It is an incalculable gain for our side when Southern men get a good, true view of ourselves and get a whole view of the Southern problem of civilization. There are among us evils that need to be remedied which are not to be dealt with individually or locally, if they are to be dealt with effectively. The slogan of this Congress is "The solid South for a better nation." That solidity is capable permanently of yielding to the sociological question, and that solidity of Southern thought and Southern sentiment and Southern history which has passed us through the fierce fires until we are welded together in a strong assembly, makes it possible for us to issue for this Congress a judicious program, which shall sweep a fire through all sections.

A good view of the South, for instance, will reveal to us our strength in contrast with our weakness. We are not

*An extemporaneous address and printed from stenographic notes without the speaker's revision.

in the homes of our fathers sure enough. The great question that is up to you and up to me and every Southern man and woman is, What are we going to do now that we have gotten back? Have we got the "goods to deliver"? Are we prepared to pick up the work in this glorious Southland and carry it to still further greatness? Southern men believe in the South. They believe that our resources justify a radiant vision. They believe that God has called them to see this vision. This Congress is a mountain top from which we are trying to focus a radiant Southern vision, which scrutinizes and which has in its perspective all the glories of the future. Especially is this Congress based upon a profound religious future, and the reason for it is apparent. Our social problems are not of an insolvable nature, if you will get the right solvent. Such a finding would make it possible for all frictions to be eased and for the great machine to move with harmony, with rhythm, as it carries, as a chant, the destinies of the people. The great question of religion and the Church in connection with this Congress and this program is to lay down the fundamental principles of brotherhood and to deepen the conviction that there are no crooked places in our life that cannot be made straight, and that the religion which we believe in is a religion sufficient unto all things, and especially does it provide us with the proper spirit for relating men to each other.

The following story comes to my memory: One day a woman was sitting on the veranda of a hotel in Switzerland. She had a field glass in her hand, and was looking upon a group of mountain climbers who were climbing one of the most difficult peaks. Suddenly she shrieked aloud, dropped the glasses to the floor, and fell in a swoon. A gentleman ran quickly to her side, picked up the glasses, and looked upon the scene. He saw four men making a struggle to climb the mountain. One had driven the ax into the side of the mountain and was safely at the top. Beneath him were three others, one of whom was desperately clinging to the edge of the rock, another was hanging there bleeding, and the fourth one at the end of the rope (for they

were all hanging on to the same rope) was dangling in mid-air, when suddenly the rope gave way, parted between the top man and the three men below, and the three men in turmoil and confusion fell thousands of feet into the dark ravine to death. That afternoon they brought in the bodies of the dead men. The next morning the man who was at the top came into the hotel. When they saw him, the women and children all ran away from him. No one spoke to him. They all went up to their rooms. He was socially ostracized. At length he met a gentleman in the smoking room and said to him: "I have not had any one to speak to me. What is the matter?" The gentlemen replied: "Excuse me, but if you want to know, we found that the rope was cut."

This Congress exists for the purpose of seeing to it that in the history of the South the rope shall never be cut between the top man and the man at the bottom.

II. CONSERVATION OF NATIONAL EFFICIENCY

The Drag on Modern Civilization

**The Sociological Message of the World-Wide Peace
Movement**

National Stewardship

Relation of Education to Social Progress

The Challenge of the South for a Better Nation

THE DRAG ON MODERN CIVILIZATION

REV. HENRY STILES BRADLEY, D.D., WORCESTER, MASS.

My purpose to-day is to make a very rapid survey of the progress of the human race from savagery to the present state of civilization, point out the more important stages in its advance, and the reason for each forward movement, and then consider one of the most serious clogs upon present civilization, with a suggestion as to its elimination.

If we accept the estimates of the best-informed students in geology, anthropology, and history, we shall allow for the time of man's residence on the earth a little more than 100,000 years. Of this time, about 75,000 years were spent in savagery, about 20,000 in barbarism, and about 7,000 in civilization.

Let us follow the student as he further subdivides these periods into three each. We shall then have three stages of savagery, three of barbarism, and three of civilization.

The first period of savagery began when our early human ancestors emerged from their long contest with the other animals of the earth and took their places at the head of the created line. They were human beings, but that is about all one could say for them. They had no written language, no speech; they wore no clothes; their food consisted of raw fruits, nuts, and vegetables; they made their homes in trees.

The first great step forward came with the discovery of the use of fire, which marks the beginning of the second period. Fire enabled early man to extend his dominion, for by its use he was able to temper climate, and for the first time in his history could live beyond the limits of tropical and subtropical zones. It enabled him also to cook his food, and rendered digestible many articles which before he could not eat. During this period the first great migrations of the race began.

The third savage period began with the invention of the bow and arrow. These weapons enlarged the field and augmented the work done by the use of fire. They enabled man not only to contend with ferocious beasts to better ad-

vantage, but also to bring down his game at a distance. The skins of the animals furnished him clothes and tents, and these made possible still further migrations.

The first period of barbarism began with the invention of pottery. Prior to that time there had been no cooking except that by roasting and broiling, but the discovery of the use of pots made it possible for early man to stew his foods, and so render much food suitable for consumption that before could not be used. It also meant greater cleanliness, since hot water is a better cleanser than cold water.

The second period of barbarism began with the domestication of plants and animals. Probably the first animal domesticated was the dog, but there followed in time the sheep, the ox, the horse, and the camel. This meant a still further extension of his territory. Man now became for the first time a traveler, a herdsman, and a dairyman. It also made it possible for him to have a home. He was no longer of necessity a nomad. It brought a larger independence because it made possible the individual ownership of property. Prior to this time property belonged to the family or the tribe. It also marked the beginning of a crude commerce, for the man who holds something in his own right is free to trade with his fellow.

The third period of barbarism began with the discovery of the process of smelting iron. Up to this time man had used only flint and stone implements. The employment of iron for weapons and implements meant more extensive wars and conquests, better cultivation of the soil, better roads, and better houses in which to live. It is probable that it also marks the beginning of art, for the reason that some leisure was afforded, and better implements made possible the expression of a dawning æstheticism.

We speak of these last three periods as barbarism because there was no written language. It seems a great pity that for lack of a method of transmitting to posterity the record of what was going on we have entirely lost the story of the experiences through which our early ancestors passed.

The first period of civilization began with the invention of hieroglyphics and written language. Here we have the

first crude literary compositions. During the periods of savagery and barbarism early man had mastered climate and animals; during the first period of civilization he began the mastery of time. Before this it was impossible to leave to posterity the story of adventure, moral conflicts, dreams, and spiritual longings. It is true that oral tradition tended to supply this lack, but the story that passes from mouth to mouth from generation to generation becomes corrupt. No doubt many of the early stories of the human race which are recorded as fact were dreams which our ancestors found impossible to relate except as stories of actual happenings. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the power to transmit to posterity the record of the experiences through which the generations pass. By it each generation is enabled to see the struggles of those that have gone before, avoid their mistakes, and improve upon their successes.

It was during this first period of civilization that the Egyptians, Babylonians, Hittites, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, and Romans flourished. That period was characterized chiefly by its wars. Man's efforts seem to have been centered upon subduing or exterminating his neighbor. The fighting, however, was with bludgeons, bows and arrows, spears, swords and battering-rams, and the conflicts therefore were chiefly hand-to-hand grapples.

This period lasted about six thousand years, and during that time there seems not to have been one single important discovery or invention. The human race walked round and round in a circle. There is, however, one great exception which, while it may not be set down in the same category with the discovery of fire or the smelting of iron, must be reckoned ultimately as the most far-reaching of all influences. I refer to the religious development, especially to the teachings of the great prophets and Christ.

The second period of civilization was marked by the invention of gunpowder, the mariner's compass, paper-making, the printing press, and the astronomical work of Copernicus. These five revolutionizing inventions and discoveries came about the fifteenth century. Up to this time man had regarded the earth as a flat disc, the center of a

very small universe. He now came to recognize it as a sphere whirling through space. Gunpowder revolutionized warfare; the mariner's compass extended man's dominion to regions beyond the seas; paper and the printing press meant the wide diffusion of knowledge. Human intelligence developed marvelously. Such names as Shakespeare, Bacon, Columbus, and Galileo belong to this period. It lasted about four hundred years.

The third period of civilization began about the beginning of the nineteenth century, and must be regarded as in most respects the most remarkable period of the race. It was ushered in with the discovery of the steam engine and the invention of the loom, and there followed in quick succession the theory of evolution, the germ theory of disease, the aseptic treatment of wounds, the use of anæsthetics in surgery, etc.

We have seen greater changes during the last century than in the previous one hundred centuries. We moved forward from twenty-three to eighty chemical elements, from gunpowder to nitroglycerin, from the stairway to the elevator, from the candle to the arc light, oil and gas, from the sail vessel to the ocean liner, from sunlight to the Röntgen rays, from an opaque body to the transparent, from the flintlock to the automatic quick-firing gun, from the scythe to the combined harvester, from leather fire buckets to chemical engines, from block printing to Webb and Hoe presses and the linotype, from the spinning wheel to cotton and wool factories, from the goose quill to the typewriter and fountain pen, from pain to anæsthetics, from running sores to asepsis, from beacon fires to Marconigraphs and cablegrams, from wood and stone to steel building material, from drawings and paintings to photography, from the horse and mule to the automobile, from the needle to the sewing machine, from flint, steel, and punk to the friction match, from winter ice to artificial refrigeration, from sundials and grandfathers' clocks to chronometers set by electricity, from unheralded weather to meteorology and weather bureaus, from the photograph to moving pictures and kinemacolor, from horse cars to railroads, from human musicians to self-playing instruments, from thirty-four years to forty-

one year as the average longevity, from balloons to dirigible airships and biplanes.

Let me recapitulate briefly. Savage man's energy was directed to overcoming climatic conditions; the barbarian's was directed to the mastery of plants, animals, and minerals; the first stage of civilization was directed toward killing one another, one man trying to master his neighbor; the second period of civilization came in the direction of energy toward the accumulation of knowledge about the earth and the promulgation of that knowledge; the third period has been one characterized by scientific discoveries, the accumulation of wealth, and the mastery of pure physical forces.

What is left unmastered? What is the direction in which man must expend his energy in the days to come? What is the new line of advance? It was a long step forward from the little reap hook used by Ruth the gleaner who followed Boaz about the harvest field to McCormick's reaper or the combined harvester. Ruth's sickle placed beside a combined harvester seems quite insignificant. There was a long step forward from the needle with which Dorcas made garments for the poor in the little town of Joppa to the Singer sewing machine. The needle placed beside the sewing machine seems quite insignificant. There was a long step forward from the stylus Paul used in the Roman prison, when he signed his letters to his friends in Philippi, to the modern typewriter or linotype. The stylus placed beside the linotype seems quite insignificant. But if we should stand Ruth and Dorcas by the side of our modern women, and the apostle Paul by the side of our modern men, the contrast would not be so striking.

We have made tremendous advance in our discoveries and inventions, but have not made much in folks. About the only realm of which we can think that man has not made a serious effort to master is the realm of self. Not until our day has man's attention been turned seriously to the scientific development of the race or the improvement of the human species.

Luther Burbank, by taking advantage of well-known biological laws, produces thousands of varieties of new

plants in a single lifetime. Man has taken the crude wild dog and by selective processes developed such varieties as the mastiff, the St. Bernard, the Newfoundland, the greyhound, the setter, pointer, collie, beagle, poodle, pug, hound, Eskimo, terrier, spitz, etc. He has produced at will dogs for drawing loads, dogs for running, dogs for fighting, dogs for scenting, or dogs for mere playthings. He has taken the wild horse, and by employing well-known biological laws has produced such varieties as the Percheron, Belgian, Arabian, Clydesdale, Suffolk, Shetland, etc. He has made at will horses for drawing loads, horses for running, horses for trotting, horses for pacing, or tiny playthings for his children.

He has done quite as much in the vegetable kingdom. He has developed the wild rose hip into the Ben Davis, the Northern Spy, and the Golden Pippin apples. He has developed the wild poisonous embryonic almond into the Crawford, the Chinese cling, the Elberta peaches, nectarines, prunes, plums, etc. He has developed the wild gourd into the Rocky Ford cantaloupe, the Georgia watermelon, and the New England pumpkin. He has developed the roots of the deadly nightshade into the Irish potato, and the fruit of the nightshade into the tomato. Some of us have lived long enough to see the last stage of this development. We can remember the little red berry of our grandmother's garden called the love apple. This has been developed into the modern tomato, which is used as food on all our dinner tables. He has taken the wild grasses of Asia and developed them into wheat, oats, rye, and barley. He has taken the wild dog-rose and multiplied its petals and developed it into the Porneron, the Jacqueminot, the Bride, the La France, and the American Beauty roses. He has taken the wild aster and developed it into the chrysanthemum.

It is a long step forward from the canoe to the Olympic; from the signal fire to the Marconigraph; from the sled to the electric car; from the hot rock to the cooking stove; from muscular strength to dynamite; from hieroglyphics to literature. But it does not seem such a long step forward from Mineptah and Plato and Aristotle and Julius Cæsar to Tom Smith, Dick Jones, and Harry Brown.

We are looking for the line of advance. Is it possible that there are forces which are in man's reach which, intelligently utilized, would bring about as sweeping, far-reaching, and beneficent changes as any of those which have taken place in the past? I think so. I believe that it is quite possible, though it may be difficult for us to project humanity upon its tenth period. Let me call attention to only three things—a discovery, an idea, and a method—which I believe are now either working or can be made to work toward the advance of which I speak.

First, a discovery. I refer to flying machines. I look upon them as of such importance that they may be characterized as world-revolutionizing. One of the greatest economic burdens upon the nations of the world to-day is that produced by war. The United States, Europe, and Japan are expending each year fifteen hundred million dollars for war. I shall not be surprised if within ten years the science of aeronautics is so nearly perfected that the navies of the world will be worthless. They are almost so to-day. When one man in a small machine which weighs only a few hundred pounds can fly over a warship and drop a few pounds of dynamite on it and send it in half a minute to the bottom of the sea or to the junk pile, it seems to the average taxpayer the height of folly to put a million dollars into a dreadnaught.

The second is an idea. It is not a new idea; it is as old as Jesus of Nazareth, but it is new in the sense that it has been reborn in recent times. I refer to humanitarianism, the idea of human brotherhood. I speak of this as having been reborn in recent years. You will recall that Chief Justice Taney, as a side remark, in a decision rendered only a half century ago, said that negroes had been regarded in America as beings so inferior that they had no rights which a white man was bound to respect. Mr. Prichard, the English historian, tells us that at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a serious discussion in England over the propriety of civilized Europeans killing the aborigines of Australia in order that they might feed their flesh to English dogs. There has been a tremendous movement manward since those days. Great missionary movements

have swept around the earth. To-day it would be impossible to find a sane man in the United States who would say that the poorest negro in darkest Africa or the most depraved or superstitious individual in Tibet had no rights which we are bound to respect.

The third thing is the method. I refer to eugenics. We have been, and are still, trying to drive the human race uphill with the brakes on. Of all the drags upon the human race to-day, the heaviest are war and bad germ plasm—the reproduction of the unfit. I shall not at this time speak of war, but shall call attention to a few facts relating to reproduction of bad germ plasm.

First, I would have you note that the burden upon civilization due to bad breeding is increasing. From 1890 to 1910 the insane persons in the asylums of the United States increased from 74,000 to 250,000, the number of criminals increased from 82,000 to 115,000, juvenile delinquents increased from 15,000 to 23,000, paupers increased from 73,000 to 85,000, eleemosynary patients increased from 112,000 to 250,000, institutions for the insane increased from 162 to 372.

Four per cent of our population belong to this class of insane, idiots, feeble-minded, etc., and the care of them is one of our heaviest economic burdens. We are spending every year in the United States \$30,000,000 for the maintenance of hospitals and such institutions for the care of these dependents. We spend \$20,000,000 for insane asylums, \$20,000,000 for almshouses, \$13,000,000 for prisons, \$5,000,000 for the feeble-minded, deaf, and blind. The 723,000 persons of this class who are in institutions cost us yearly nearly \$100,000,000, and not quite twenty per cent of the total are thus cared for.

What is the remedy? The first thing I would suggest is the diffusion of the knowledge of these conditions. Such organizations as the Southern Sociological Congress I am sure will help by the publication of its proceedings and by the reports of its work through the daily newspapers; but I believe we shall need to make our instruction far more elementary and see that it is more widely diffused than can ever be done by such institutions as this Congress. It is a

matter that must be taken up by all the schools of the State, public and private. I am not here to find fault with our public school systems—they have done fairly well—but I do maintain that it is utterly stupid and inexpressibly foolish and henceforth will be criminally negligent for us to continue year after year to require the boys and girls who go into our common schools, public schools, and high schools to familiarize themselves with a little of Latin, Greek, French, and German, and to insist that no boy or girl can be graduated from a college or university without being able to demonstrate that the square described on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares described on the other two sides, while they may be absolutely ignorant of the fundamental laws of biology. We have gotten into an old rut, which was started in mediæval days, and still insist that no man is an educated man, or has the right to call himself cultured, who has not taken a course called “classical” in some college or university. We talk in high phrases about the cultural advantage of Greek roots and Latin declensions, and are neglecting the basic principles of reproduction. I do not believe that any boy or girl should be allowed to pass through the common schools of our State without an accurate knowledge of the fundamental laws of reproduction. The old bogey of immodesty must not frighten us any longer. Not one child in a thousand to whom such laws are explained will be unprepared for them. No boy or girl is allowed to pass through our high schools without knowing that H_2O stands for water. I have no complaint to make with that. But I do maintain that it is of infinitely more importance that they should know that insanity, epilepsy, feeble-mindedness, and scrofula are absolutely transmissible from father to son, and that if one yokes himself to a companion afflicted with any of these diseases he is mathematically certain to reproduce offspring of the same sort if the union produces progeny at all.

The second thing I would suggest is that society and the State shall undertake a more vigorous campaign of elimination of these diseases than it has ever done. We are

doing something in that direction, but nothing like as much as we ought to do. It is not only necessary that the State should withhold a marriage license from this class which makes up 4 per cent of our population, but go further and see to it that they shall not reproduce. That might be accomplished by the absolute segregation of the sexes from the earliest years of maturity; and while other measures, some of them surgical, have been suggested, and have been legalized in nine of our States, segregation is probably the best method. If it should be carried out with scrupulous care, this class would practically wholly disappear within one generation.

I wish to call attention to the fact that the specialists in insane institutions estimate that at least twenty-five per cent of all who belong to this dependent class are what we know as alcoholics. And yet our cities and States are going ahead year after year licensing institutions to make dependents.

Is it not time for us as intelligent men and women to apply the fundamental laws of biology to ourselves? Is not the direction for future development in the way of the elimination of the unfit and the improvement of the great racial stock? I firmly believe that if the fundamental laws of reproduction are observed we shall find that the stage of development which I would call the tenth stage of civilization will be as far in advance of that in which we now live as our electric age is in advance of the rowboat and the oxcart.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL MESSAGE OF THE WORLD-WIDE PEACE MOVEMENT

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THE dominant tone of the World-Wide Peace Movement is the sociological one. It can hardly be otherwise, because its work is not for the individual, though it aims to protect every individual from the ravages of war. And then it takes the broadest view of sociology. It is not my society, nor your society, but humanity itself that it would bring under its far-stretched-out wings.

Some persons think we are visionary because the scope of our operations is so broad. But why should they? Are there not some things common to mankind? A mother's love knows nothing of country nor of race. Justice and Truth are not restricted to any one people.

We plead for a family of nations as well as for a nation of families. In this the Peace Movement stands out in striking contrast to war. War is narrow. It has often been founded on ignorance, prejudice, pride, and hatred. It would crush out, it would forever exterminate all its opponents; but peace is universal in its service of love and good will.

The message of the Peace Movement is a constructive one, and herein it makes its appeal to every sociological worker. War is terribly destructive.

The most sacred thing in the universe is life. God himself has nothing greater to give than life. All your work is founded on the value of life. You work not for the dead but for the living. All of this splendid Congress is to protect, to sweeten, to purify, to strengthen life.

But what cares war for human life? Fifteen billion human beings have fallen by known wars, as many as ever lived upon the face of the earth during any six hundred years of its history.

O if across every battlefield there could flash forth from the heavens the words, "Thou shalt not kill"! It may

be the thought of the sacredness of life would hold back the hand from slaying any more human beings.

In the few minutes allotted to me I have not the time even to look upon the devastation caused by war. Some of you know it by bitter experience. All of us have read of it, and only recently have we sickened at the stories of the awful suffering in the Far East. Talk of poverty, talk of hunger, talk of foul disease, talk of misery even beyond the power of portrayal—it is all being realized to-day. It is the same wherever war rages: famine, disease, death, and a long train of ills take their toll from the red hand of war.

But peace is the opposite of all this. She uses money for constructive purposes: the better equipment of schools, the building of hospitals, the construction of railroads, the founding of colleges, the erection of Churches, the endowment of libraries, the establishment of orphanages, stamping out epidemics, staying the sweep of plagues, extending the work of missions both at home and abroad, the prevention of crime, the reign of law rather than that of force, of justice and mercy rather than that of hate and terror, of sowing and reaping, and making homes happy.

Men think we are idealistic, and perhaps we are; but give us the cost of a single battleship and we will stamp out the white plague in a short time and make America a cleaner, a safer, a happier land in which to live.

The social message of the World's Peace Movement is one of gratitude and appreciation for the recognition and aid given to it by sociological workers and the friends of humanity elsewhere. That is one distinctive feature in our great and good work; it blends, it harmonizes with all other good works. The educators of every land are our foremost leaders, the philanthropists of all nations are among our best friends, men of great commercial ability are in the front of this cause, the women's clubs are doing for us splendid service, the doctors tell us that their profession calls upon them to save and not to destroy men's lives, the lawyers of different lands are asking for a High Court of Nations before which they can plead for national honor and

justice, and wonder why nations cannot be as sane as individuals and settle disputes by law and reason rather than by shot and shell, and the great masses of the people, the trade-unions, the federations of workingmen's clubs, the toiling, laboring people of the world, more than 100,000,000 strong, are thinking, thinking, thinking and beginning to say, "War must cease." We will refuse to go ourselves, or to send our sons to be slaughtered like sheep, or to slaughter others who never wronged us. We will not burn down their homes nor bring untold sufferings upon their households.

And the Church is waking up to a sense of its responsibility in the work, and beginning to see that it cannot be true to its high calling and to the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth without leading in this movement. Sane men do not kill their brothers nor slay the children of a common father. How can the Church teach the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, how can it look for an answer to its own prayer, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven," how can it hold forth the banner of the "Prince of Peace" without being dead against war?

And so the message I bring is one of hope.

I hope the time may come when it shall be as disgraceful for the flag of any nation to float over ignorance, poverty, pauperism, and crime as it would be to trail in the dust on fields of slaughter and of death.

I was charmed by the splendid, though brief, address given on Sunday afternoon by our friend from Toronto. I rejoice that the English-speaking people will celebrate their one hundredth year of peace. Their one hundred years of peace have meant much for England and for the United States.

I have lived under both flags and both are precious to me. Over sea and over land may they long wave, and God grant that no red hand of war may ever tear either down! May England and America go forth in the very front of the nations: one for God and one for humanity!

NATIONAL STEWARDSHIP

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A MAN'S capacities indicate his calling; the aptitudes and gifts of his manhood suggest his mission. A man who can plow better than he can do anything else is called to plow, not to preach. A man who can preach better than he can do anything else is called to preach, not to plow. So of a nation. There can be no doubt that God commits certain gifts, capacities, principles, and resources to nations and charges them with a certain mission to the world. Horace Bushnell taught us that every man's life is a plan of God, and we are admonished under this topic that every nation's life is a plan of God.

In support of this view look at the Jewish nation. They are called the chosen people, not because they were the only chosen people, but because they were chosen for a special mission. They had a genius for religion and were appointed to the religious leadership of the world. Almost all the great religious ideas of history were given to mankind by the Jews. For example: God is one; he is righteous and loves righteousness and hates iniquity—that is to say, he is a Moral God in contrast to the immoral gods of other nations; he is a Redeemer. This religious leadership the Jewish nation held until they rejected the leadership of their greatest moral and religious Teacher. Since that day, the Jewish people have achieved leadership in other things—in finance, in philosophy, in music, but no longer in religion.

Similarly the classic nations, the Greeks and Romans, had their special gifts and special mission to the world. The special gifts of the Greeks lay in the field of literature, philosophy, the fine arts. The single community of Athens produced in a comparatively brief period thirty men who have never been surpassed in eminence. Then the Greeks gave us a perfect language, and they wrote it in masterpieces for all time. In the plastic arts and architecture they are still the leaders of the world; while the "Ethics"

of Aristotle, written three centuries before Christ, is to-day a textbook in Oxford University in England.

The special gifts of the Romans lay in the field of constructive organization and achievement, of politics in the high sense, and law in the sense of jurisprudence. In a word, they organized a world empire and linked it to the Imperial City on the Tiber by a system of roads unmatched in all history until the advent of the steam locomotive.

Now from our point of vantage we can read the plan of God in the life of the three nations I have named. For here is a great conjuncture in history—a gospel, a language, and an empire with the atmosphere created by thinking in imperial terms. The Greeks provided the vehicle and the Romans built the roads for the carrying of the gospel which had been given through the Jews.

We may now ask, What is the moral mission of the United States? Gladstone said: "We have a natural basis for the greatest continuous empire ever founded by man." (This was said before the days of the Chinese Republic.) Emerson said: "Our whole history looks like a last effort of divine Providence on behalf of humanity."

If now we attempt to set down our special gifts and aptitudes, we shall find, first, that we are the trustees of great political principles and ideals. Throughout history there has been but one struggle in the field of politics—the struggle between despotism and democracy. On this continent these two principles met on the Heights of Abraham at Quebec—the town meeting against the beurocracy, a Titan against a cripple (for forty centuries local self-government had been suppressed in France), and John Fiske says the victory of Wolfe is the greatest turning point yet discernible in modern times. It is the same conflict that issued two years ago in the republic of China (now at school to the United States). It is the same conflict that is at this hour crowding Turkey across the Bosphorus. She still flies the Crescent, but words of Joseph Cooke, uttered thirty years ago, seem almost like prophecy: "The Crescent is the crescent of a waning moon, and in the sky where it lingers as a ghost the sun is rising and God behind it!" Thus democ-

racy wins through history and around the globe. The House of *Lords*, the last seat of privilege, bends to the House of *Commons*, and our God is moving on!

More than any other people on earth we are charged with the principles of democracy; to maintain the balance between local self-government and federal union. Yes, we had our baptism of blood and the government was put to awful hazard, but when the storm of war had passed a man of the people stood on the bloodiest field of them all and consecrated the whole nation, that government of the people, by the people, and for the people should not perish from the earth. And, please God, it never shall.

But note a still more precious treasure that is committed to our charge—a free Church in a free State. If it is important that the State be free, it is more important that the religion be free. If the principle of despotism has no place in the government, still less has it any rights in the realm of the soul.

Let me recall to you a few dates. Columbus discovered America in 1492. Jamestown and Plymouth were settled in 1607-08 and 1620—that is to say, one hundred years and more after the continent had been discovered. Why was this? Between the dates named the discovery and settlement of this North American Continent, the destruction of the Spanish Armada, and the Protestant Reformation occurred. God seems to have reserved this north temperate zone of the New World until after the gospel was rediscovered by Luther. He seems to have reserved it for a people who were driven out of England and France by defections in those countries toward Rome, which then stood for the principle of despotism in religion.

Evangelical Christianity is held in trust for the world by the Nonconformists of England and the great free Christian bodies of this country.

To be in charge of pure democracy and pure religion is enough surely. And it is enough to suggest a special mission of the nation. But we are also endowed with a money-making capacity which taxes our arithmetic to compute, and with natural resources which are only beginning to be realized upon.

I hope it is also true that we are endowed with the idea of world peace. We set before Europe the example of great States dwelling together in unity; and we have for a hundred years left a frontier line of over three thousand miles without a fort. And it was an American President who proposed that all questions between nations be left to an international court of arbitral justice.

We saw that the Jewish nation forfeited the religious leadership of the world, when it rejected the lead of its greatest leader. Are we in danger of forfeiting our trusteeship? How about democracy, with our bosses and the professional office-holding class called "politicians"? Is our wealth our illth? Do the war syndicates or the peace advocates dominate the sentiments of the nation respecting war? Certain it is that we shall discharge our mission to the world only as we recognize the preciousness of the trust committed to us and the gravity of our responsibility; only as we put religion into politics and business; only as the principles of the kingdom of heaven dominate all our life.

The South has especial duties now. Its old civilization gave us Washington and it later gave us Lee. The new must preserve against all the subtle aggressions of democratic government and pure religion. So shall we help save the nation for its work for the world.

THE RELATION OF EDUCATION TO SOCIAL PROGRESS

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THERE are men active to-day, probably seventy years of age, who can remember the beginnings of the modern railroad. In 1843 there were less than two hundred miles of railroad in this country; six years ago there died in England the man who was the engineer on the first locomotive that ever ran on rails. That means that practically

within a human life the development of the modern railroad has taken place, and the development of the modern railroad is parallel to the whole of our modern industrial development. But for some few inventions, such as the introduction of gunpowder, which was little used until the days of Oliver Cromwell in Great Britain, our industrial resources were the same two hundred years ago that they were in the days of Cæsar Augustus.

Practically within a lifetime our tremendous industrial and mechanical development has taken place in this country. It is worth while, when you sit down to read books like the "Old Curiosity Shop," with their revelations of social conditions in England, to remember that they are recent books, written at the beginning of the railroad period, before the tide of the present mechanical and industrial development, to realize that, while we have stepped from those primitive conditions of science, invention, and industry portrayed in these books to the tremendous development of this day, on the other hand the world has stood still, almost, so far as social progress is concerned. The comparison is a revelation—an appalling revelation—for while there is an almost immeasurable step of scientific and industrial progress in the period from the days when Dickens wrote his books to to-day, we are almost in the same social condition now that we were then.

In the cities we can find people living under the same congestion, people starving, men barely able to earn enough to keep their families a day, all the appalling social conditions remaining, after three generations of scientific and industrial progress. Again, in those three generations we have seen the marvelous development of a system of education. Elementary education has seen its entire development in this period both in England and in this country. But education has turned its energy to industrial and commercial progress. Science has been the handmaiden of the manufacturer. We know that industrial progress has been due to scientific progress, and this has been due to the popularization of education. Popular education has failed to secure social progress because it has been bent principally to industrial servitude.

The system of education in its responsibility for social welfare stands indicted before us, when we realize what we owe to the education of our people, both in the elementary and high schools and colleges, in commercial and scientific development, and compare this with the service of the schools for social advance.

We are still living under the dominance of the hope that if we send our boys and girls to school they may get into "society"; we count on education to give them social prestige. Or we send them to school that they may be able to earn more money, hoping by means of education to give them a pass-key to the brown fronts on Easy Street. We hope they will not have to struggle as their parents did. We would have them become doctors, lawyers, or something else in the professional line, not for the sake of the service they may render, but for the sake of the salaries. This is our own interpretation of education in anti-social terms.

We ourselves are guilty in regarding the principal value of education as a process of quickening the powers of money-making. The result is that we have used it for whetting the edge of human knavery.

These conceptions do not constitute the American ideal of education. Free compulsory universal education as the American practice gave the world a new interpretation of education. It holds that education is a social duty exercised by the State for the benefit socially and morally of all citizens. Education is not a prize to be grasped for, it is not the privilege of a few. It is distinctly for all. It is not a matter of choice for the individual, but of the right of the State to say that for the sake of society all persons shall receive the discipline of education. In this country the State—that is, organized society—determines to prepare for their duties the persons who constitute the society of tomorrow. Education is a social investment in futures, it is the social process by which social factors are prepared and developed for social living. We demand for every person full opportunity of education, not for the sake of learning, nor for the sake of what is called a "gentleman's culture," but for the purpose of making every man and woman competent to live in this social whole. Education ought to do

more; it ought to make each one anxious to invest a competent, efficient life in the service of his day and in its improvement.

But American education has been false to its ideals; it has carried on a purely traditional curriculum in the elementary schools and has emphasized the snobbish ideals of a superficial culture on one side and a selfish materialism on the other. In the colleges it has lost sight of the social purposes; it has existed for the curriculum rather than for character. We have been more anxious to develop memory machines and money-making machines than morally acting persons. We have had a false pride in the intellect accompanied by a neglect of the will. We have failed to make education efficient to determine social character and conditions. After all, only a minority of the college men are really getting into the social game. A few have the spirit, but more are dominated by the passion for gain; they expect to recoup themselves for investment in education. The truth is, our schools fail both in achieving their own informational ideal and in securing those right social results which society should properly demand.

The fault of the social failure of public education is our own. We parents have wrong ideals. We parents are unwilling that our children should take time from memorizing lessons about dead people to learn the lesson of living among live people. We glory in the traditional curriculum which permits children to come out of school ignorant both of the principles and ideals of a new era in society, and utterly destitute of the motives for its realization. Our duty is to change our own minds, to make new demands of the schools, to convert Boards of Education from politics and petty logrolling, and to be willing to pay even in taxes the price of a school system which will fit the youth of to-day for the social obligations and duty of to-morrow. We must be patient with experiments in curricula and methods. We must cease to persecute experimenters by calling them faddists. If we would have a new age, we must make education the process of preparing the human factor for it.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE SOUTH FOR A BETTER NATION

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IN a conversation last summer with Mr. Woodrow Wilson, I ventured to suggest that the outcome of his life and teachings would be to interest anew the youth of America in the writings of Edmund Burke, Britain's foremost political thinker. In response to this remark Mr. Wilson's face lighted up at once and he added that he must confess that Burke had made his own mind. Then he proceeded to contrast instructively Burke's practical view of politics as the sound habit and instinct of a people with the theories of speculative thinkers like Montesquieu.

Government is not a document which we choose to call the Constitution, but it is rather the political habit of the people. This habit, or social instinct, expresses itself in a parchment, in laws, in institutions such as Congress and the court, and in great public policies like the Monroe Doctrine and international peace. If the political habit of a people be sound and sagacious, meeting wisely emergencies as they arise, it matters little whether the constitution be written as in America or unwritten as in Britain, and whether the form of the State be republican as in France or monarchical as in England.

The common mind is the informing force of government. What the people think, how they are accustomed to act together, their sense of justice and fair play, their breadth of sympathy and sweep of vision—in a word, the public-mindedness of the average man is the cardinal factor in political life.

"Democracy is government by discussion." The statesman, therefore, considers that his chief task is to educate the public mind, to temper the thought of the people, to give poise as well as power to the common will, believing that all public policies will spring naturally out of

the sound political instincts of the people. President Wilson very frankly declares that for this wholesome view of government as political habit he is indebted to Edmund Burke.

STATE-MAKERS

Two state-makers in the nineteenth century can similarly serve the South as structural careers for us to follow in the remaking of our civilization and commonwealths. I refer to Stein in Prussia and Cavour in Italy. They wrought in different spheres, but their aims were the same and their processes alike. They both divined that the life of the people is more than the form of government, and that the economic, social, and moral forces underlie politics and give efficacy to the public will.

Both Stein and Cavour were called upon to guide small states that had just been overwhelmed by war and disaster. Prussia had been trampled underfoot by Napoleon; Sardinia had been defeated by reactionary Austria. Both states had succumbed to overmastering armed force. These two great patriots were alike in seeing clearly that the losses sustained were to be overcome, not by a brilliant charge on the battle field, but by reinvigorating the people through intelligence, through liberty, through public virtue, and through devotion to right civic ideals. To achieve victory they proposed to make better states with more thrifty, intelligent, moral, and patriotic people than those over which their conqueror ruled.

STEIN'S TASK IN PRUSSIA

When on that October day in 1807 Stein entered upon office he did away with serfdom in Prussia, quickened the schools, abolished feudal abuses, unified the people, equalized the taxes, planned popular assemblies, inspired patriotism in all, and set free the energy in the individual will. The result of this wise social program on the part of Stein is registered in the present national unity of Germany and its prestige as a world power.

CAVOUR'S TASK IN ITALY

It was at the darkest hour of defeat that Cavour in 1850 entered the cabinet of Piedmont under Victor Emmanuel II. He set himself first to put the house in order, as the prerequisite to the moral leadership and ultimate victory of his state. He built a network of roads, tunneling the Alps. He dredged harbors, founded schools, disbanded monasteries, dignified labor, quickened commerce and manufactures, revised the tariff downward, entertained at a public banquet Richard Cobden, England's apostle of free trade, and he imparted the vibrant energy of his own personality to the rank and file of the people of Piedmont.

SOCIAL REGENERATORS

By such restorative measures he gave a primacy to Piedmont in the affairs of the peninsula which led up to Italian unity and national power. Thus intelligence, thrift, liberty, a constant challenge to discussion, and general moral invigoration were the sovereign means which both of these statesmen used in achieving their permanent political ends. Stein and Cavour were social regenerators as well as statesmen in the ordinary political sense.

Every one of us would do well to study for his own guidance the life and plans of Stein and Cavour, for their careers parallel the task of the South. Happily Andrew D. White has recently put forth a suggestive study of these two men in his volume on "Seven Great Statesmen."

SIR HORACE PLUNKETT

Sir Horace Plunkett belongs to the same order of social statesmen. As a member of the House of Commons for eight years he awoke to the fact that England in applying political remedies to Ireland's economic wrongs had failed. He determined, therefore, to try economic remedies to cure economic wrongs in that distressed island. He left his seat in Parliament and went to Ireland to work out a threefold practical program—better farming, better business, and better living. He increased the fertility of the land, estab-

lished coöperative dairies, and worked out the scientific marketing of crops. He sweetened the life of the home, quickened schools, promoted thrift, and energized the life of the plain people. The results are known to the world. Lord Cromer's economic measures have wrought a similar change in Egypt.

SEAMAN A. KNAPP

The greatest statesman of the South in recent times was Seaman A. Knapp, who believed that the demonstration farm was of more value to society than the noisiest political convention that could be assembled; that a boy's corn club would do more to enrich materially the life of the people than the fattest office won on the hustings. His creed was sound seed, deep plowing, more humus, rotation of crops, stock-raising, coöperation among farmers, scientific management and marketing of products, good roads, better schools, racial adjustment, practical churches, public health and sanitation. A simple program, to be sure, and yet how wonderfully fruitful, inspired as it was by his lofty personality and vast social purpose, embracing the enrichment of rural life throughout the South.

A Southern State ought to be rated to-day, not according to population or wealth of representation in Congress, but primarily by the number of Knapps which it contains. These unselfish servants of the people, working in humble ways to improve the farm, the road, the factory, the home, the school, and the Church are the true statesmen of the South.

Such men do not need the pedestal of political office to make them great. Personality and a sincere purpose are their sole credentials. They are living epistles known and read of all men. They are counted by the thousands in every commonwealth of the South, toiling as teachers in lonely schoolhouses, molding as editors public opinion, energizing as ministers the moral aims of the community, and as farmers, bankers, and merchants increasing thrift and giving efficiency to agriculture, industry, commerce, education, and religion.

REGARD FOR THE AVERAGE MAN

In any concrete statement of a program for the South I should put foremost due regard for the average man and a recognition of the potential in his personality. Social chasms have yawned between the classes in the South as the deep gullies disfigure the red hillsides on our washed lands. Great have been the reservoirs of power that this age has tapped: coal, oil, cotton, steel, water power, and electricity. But a still vaster supply of strength for society lies in the undeveloped minds of the children of the South. Michael Faraday, a poor boy working in a London bookbindery, discovered the principle of the dynamo, which has electrified the world. Many great discoveries had Sir Humphry Davy made, but when on his deathbed he was asked which of these discoveries was the greatest, he replied, "Michael Faraday."

He who has the talisman can work in school and shop to-day a thousand miracles by challenging the constructive energies of Southern youth, eager and expectant as they are to regain prestige and bring themselves to bear on the life of the nation.

THE FORGOTTEN MAN

In the preamble to our social life we have omitted one significant word, "We *ALL* the People." At times the forgotten man has arisen and struck back. Even in the blow I recognize the latent nobility of his nature disclosing powers of mind and heart untrained, and therefore misdirected. Millions of treasure and lives the nation poured out to retain political union. Even more necessary to the well-being of a State is social union, coöperative effort, and a common will.

The sacrifice of the Roman knight who leaped into the chasm that it might be closed and the forum be restored must be repeated in the South to-day by many a man who is willing to serve his kind in showing that a sense of equality, brotherhood, and common sympathy is the central fact in American democracy. Upper and lower as applied to classes must lose their meaning. Our sympathies and affec-

tions must embrace them all. A passion for the common good must expel the desire of special privilege for the few. The South can no longer live in a three-story house with the upper story assigned exclusively to one class. The common school is destined to leaven the whole lump. It is the seed bed of democracy. The advent of the average man is at hand. No need of a prophet crying in the wilderness to announce this evangel.

REVERENCE FOR LAW

We are governed, not by law, but by respect for law. The majesty of the State is not in the badge of the policeman, but in the breast of the citizen. It is easy, on the one hand, to have liberty, which alone inclines to license. It is easy, on the other hand, to have law, which alone inclines to despotism. The ideal that we seek is liberty under law.

Sacredness attaches to every device in civilization. Marriage, home, the ballot, contract, legislature, court, science—all of these are the products of untold labor and suffering on the part of generations of men throughout the ages. To illustrate this, take for instance the serrated edge of our silver coin. In the olden time the most drastic laws were enacted and executed against clipping the coin. But without avail. The temptation to shave slightly the smooth edge of the coin was too great. Thousands of men and women suffered death because they yielded to this temptation to clip the coin. Finally the device of the serrated edge was hit upon and at once put a stop to this evil. It took unutterable torture to give us that simple device to prevent that clipping of the coin. So with every helpful factor in civilization. The efforts of the ages have evolved it.

This applies particularly to our reverence for law, one of the slowest products of social growth. It is from this viewpoint that we come to understand the heinousness of mob-murder, or lynching, which at one fell stroke uproots this reverence for law age-long in its evolution. If I were privileged to secure by asking one boon for the South, it would be that within the next decade not a single lynching should take place in a Southern commonwealth, for every

such act registers a return to barbarism and undoes the primordial strivings of the human spirit for justice, social order, and equality of rights.

UNIVERSAL EDUCATION

Democracy is based on the moral judgment of the majority, instead of the caprice of a king as in a monarchy. Democracy, therefore, cannot rise higher than popular enlightenment, as water cannot rise above its source. Hence democracy and public education are as two lobes of the same brain, as vitally related as the Siamese twins. The common school is the cell of the body politic, the primary unit of its health. The school-teacher is the sentinel of the State, for upon his watchfulness the security of the whole people depends. As patriots we must not overlook the fact that democracy has made terrible failures, and some of the greatest of these failures have been in the South. The primary cause in every instance of failure known to me has been ignorance. The luscious honeycomb is built up by the bees extracting sweetness from every flower; but democracy has never found the secret of extracting wisdom from empty heads. "Empty heads," did I say? Rather heads chock-full of prejudice, passion, and hatred, classal and racial.

The remedy lies in the common school, reënforced by compulsory attendance, medical inspection, and courses of study practically adapted to the life of the community. It was strengthening to visit recently a rural community called Bethel, in Fairfield County, S. C., where an almost ideal social center had been built up by the farmers around. Here was the consolidated school, with its circulating library and wagon to transport the children and frequent lectures attended by all the people in democratic style. Adjacent to the school building is the teacher's home on a plot of six acres, with space enough for an experiment farm. The principal was a college graduate. His home was a moral fortress for the children of the community.

The next constructive step in education in the South is for the community to provide a home for the teacher adjacent to the school, in order that a well-trained man shall

be on his job twelve months in the year, becoming a structural factor in the life of the people, and not a bird of passage as heretofore. Eighty-five per cent of the Swiss schools have men as their principals, men rooted by a home to the locality. Women will still continue to be eminently useful as teachers, but the task of public education is too serious to have eighty per cent of the teachers in some counties changing every year. The remedy for the whole situation is a man, and in order to secure this man permanently the community must provide a neat home with a plot for his garden, cow, and poultry that will enable him to live in comfort and decency on a small salary. This high statesmanship the farmers at Bethel have shown in furnishing such a home.

Just across the road from the school is the residence of the neighborhood physician. Within a stone's throw is the church, with the parsonage adjacent for the minister. And thus the community has constantly present the three necessary men as leaders of its life—the teacher, the physician, and the preacher. Teamwork by these three is as certain to result in a wholesome and progressive community as sunlight and moisture produce the flower and fruit of the field.

The growth of community life like this is the most striking thing taking place in the South to-day. As long as the plantation was the social unit, community life was impossible. Jefferson's dream has been realized; the counties are dividing into wards with compact community life. Only this week I had a fine proof of this. I grew up on a plantation in Mississippi where a few white families in feudal fashion lived in isolation. To-day those plantations are broken up and a thriving community nestles in their bosom. On Monday last my niece wrote me that they were building a public school costing five thousand dollars.

CO-OPERATION

The key to all this progress is coöperation. The individual is weak, the community strong. The significant fact is not the increase in the number of schools, teachers,

and revenues, but rather the habit of coöperation which our people are learning. Coöperation is the goose that lays the golden egg. It is the very spirit of democracy—concern for the common good; not only feeling that I am my brother's keeper, but more—I am my brother's brother. We have at last awaked to the fact that the whole is greater than the part. Too often heretofore we have thought only of a social class, a segment of interests, a particular sect or denomination. Hence the strength of sectionalism and sectarianism. But a better day is dawning when we are all alike embracing in our affections the whole people, the lowly no less than the lofty; and when our sympathies are sweeping the entire circle of human interests. That impulse is born of the very spirit of democracy.

Coöperation brings all community blessings. The *Big Four* are (1) the public school, (2) the public road, (3) the public library, and (4) public health. Upon the heels of these will follow the demonstration farm, the rural delivery of mail, the telephone, the reading circle, and the practical church whose sole aim is human helpfulness. I am filled with hope as I witness the signal progress that the South is making in the growth of such community life.

PUBLIC HEALTH

I often tell them in South Carolina that our first need is a million and a half healthy human animals. In one Southern county the percentage of children infected with hook-work was as high as eighty-six per cent. The loss by preventive diseases such as typhoid, malaria, and tuberculosis is incalculable. The sanitary engineer deserves a place of chief honor in our civilization. The Visiting Nurses' Association is as the presence of an angel of mercy in any community. Cleanliness is the beatitude of the modern gospel.

Disease is no respecter of races. Think what we will as to the economic, social, and moral relation of the two races in the South, there is a physical bond that binds us together as one. I cannot be indifferent to the filthy condition of the premises of the black woman who nurses my children or who cooks my dinner.

Pure water, pure food, sunshine, and fresh air flooding our homes are Nature's great physician, working miracles of health without fees. In years past our government has spent "millions for defense, but not one cent in tribute" to the fly, mosquito, and deadly germs that lurk in dirt. But happily all this is changing, as is the sphere of the State in general. The arm formerly outstretched only against a foreign foe is now becoming the helping hand to the common man. Through the agency of the board of health, the school, and the public library the State is beneficently waging war against the pestilence that walketh in darkness and the destruction that wasteth at noonday. A hardier race of men and women will result, full panoplied for the greatest achievements in human progress.

INDEPENDENCE OF THOUGHT

Everywhere there are signs of growing independence of thought and tolerance of opinion. The worst evil of slavery was that it tended to gag the Southern mind. But a seemingly endless monologue is now changing to a dialogue. In Rhode Island I was told that in the morning a man kisses his wife, tips his hat to her, and says: "Now, dear, I am going out to differ with somebody." We are beginning to get the habit of Roger Williams's descendants. The sole significance attaching to the individual life is that each of us reports accurately the universe from his particular angle of vision. I have a friend who says that he has long been tolerant of the tolerant and now he yearns to become tolerant of the intolerant. Difference of opinion with deference for the right of private judgment is the goal toward which we are moving. This enkindling spirit is appearing in the press, in the pulpit, and in politics. It is big with promise, because "all things are resolvable in the maelstrom of thought."

OF THE MAN AND THE LAW

How great are the incentive and encouragement to the South to accomplish these social tasks! What a challenge to our strength and aspiration America and the world throw

down at this time to us! The South has again taken its place in the national councils with tonic effect. The rule is restored to all the people, and the interests are slinking away into the blackness of night with the bats and owls. The passion for equality of opportunity glows again in the hearts of the plain people. The nation realizes anew that its rights are superior to the peculiar interests of any section, and the nation is also sobered by a sense of its duties to all classes and to all sections of our common country. The Fathers sought to establish a government of laws rather than of men. Latterly, on the other hand, a certain new party has sought to establish a government of man rather than a government of laws. Happily the advantages, however, of these two purposes are combined in the present Democratic administration, wherein an adamant personality delights to magnify the laws of the land. It is worth living when such things can happen—Woodrow Wilson in the Presidency, David F. Houston in the Cabinet, and Walter H. Page Ambassador to Britain—trained leadership for moral and social tasks in public life.

JOHN MARSHALL REDIVIVUS

Washington and Marshall are the two outstanding figures in American history. Their careers were structural. Washington was the father of democracy. Marshall substituted reason for force in the settlement of disputes between commonwealths, as courts had previously decided rights between two individuals. We are just beginning to awake to the significance of Marshall's creation. What his supreme court has done for the forty-eight commonwealths in the American Union, an International Court of Arbitral Justice can do for the forty nations of the world. John Marshall is, therefore, the type man for the twentieth century in its effort to attain a better world organization on the basis of justice secured through reason. The majestic mind of Marshall stood for the supremacy of law over war. His idea is as certain to master the world as that the ice-bound wastes retreat before the summer's sun. Make reason supreme, and the billion and one-half dollars now spent an-

nually by mankind on armaments can be turned into productive channels of human helpfulness. Constitutional liberty is fast encircling the globe. The consciousness of kin is drawing together all peoples of one blood into a single nation, aglow with youthful enthusiasm and potential energy. The next step is to intensify the sense of human brotherhood that will enable these separate nations to live together in peace and to work in harmony for world ends. Not only is each nation to live under its own vine and fig tree, satisfying deep racial instincts in its consciousness of unity of blood, language, religion, and common interests; but also each nation is to live at peace with its neighbor, since the ægis of an International Court of Arbitral Justice will be divinely outstretched above all governments to defend rights and to interpret a higher world-order.

AMERICA THE EXEMPLAR

Thus the embattled farmers that fired the shot heard round the world have become by strange leadings exemplars of international peace. The expectancy of the liberals of the world was centered in Washington's experiment in democracy. The hopes of the rationals of the twentieth century gather around John Marshall's constructive idea of a supreme court that will be a substitute for the carnage of war, and thus enable the peoples of earth to "beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Such is the nation's challenge to the South and the world's challenge under the inspiration of Washington, Marshall, and Wilson.

III. PUBLIC HEALTH

**Report of the Committee on the Present Status of
Public Health Work in the Southern States**

The Social Aspect of Health Promotion

Public Health Problems and Southern Prosperity

How Wilmington Was Made a Healthy City

The Twilight Zone of Child Life

Methods of Rural School Inspection in Virginia

A Communities Program for Fighting Tuberculosis

The Control of Social Diseases

The South's Greatest Public Health Need

THE PRESENT STATUS OF PUBLIC HEALTH WORK IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

W. S. RANKIN, M.D., RALEIGH, N. C., CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE
ON PUBLIC HEALTH, SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS

THE subject of your Chairman's remarks was suggested by the Secretary of the Congress. Following Mr. McCulloch's suggestion I prepared a questionnaire and mailed it to the Secretaries of the various State Boards of Health of the Southern States, and requested that they answer the questions and return the questionnaire. Recognizing that the limitations of time and the importance of the program that is to follow would not permit too detailed a discussion of this subject, I asked for information regarding the general principles of health work that common practice seems to approve. Most of the information obtained in this way I have attempted to chart, as in this form the essential facts of the paper will probably be more easily assimilated.

STATE BOARDS OF HEALTH OF SOUTHERN STATES

STATE	Organ- ized	Annual Revenue	Vital Statistics	Laboratory of Hygiene	
				Organ- ized	Anal. 1912
Virginia	1871	\$35,000	Model Law Adopted	1908	13,770
Maryland	1874	35,000	Registration State	1893	7,148
South Carolina ...	1878	26,500	No Provision	1909	5,380
North Carolina ...	1873	45,000	Model Law Adopted	1905	14,823
Kentucky	1878	30,000	Registration State	1911	36,239
Florida	1889	75,000	Model Law Provided	1903	20,000
Arkansas	1913	8,900	Model Law Provided	1913	.....
Mississippi	1877	19,000	Model Law Provided	....	.....
Georgia	1903	30,500	No Provision	1905	7,295
Texas	1909	49,320	No Provision	1912	2,164

These dates will give us, probably better than anything else, some idea as to when the different Southern States began to realize the claims of preventive medicine on their government. The oldest Southern State Board of Health is that of Virginia, founded in the year 1871; the youngest State Board of Health is that of Arkansas, founded in 1913. In the order of the years in which they were founded the Southern State Boards of Health stand as follows:

Virginia, 1871; North Carolina, 1873; Maryland, 1874; Mississippi, 1877; Kentucky, 1878; South Carolina, 1878; Florida, 1889; Georgia, 1903; Texas, 1909; Arkansas, 1913.

Probably the best index to the interest of the people of a State in public health work is the amount of money they are willing to invest in it. We recognize that in using this index some regard should be paid to the population of the State, the amount of taxable property, and the bonded indebtedness of the State. But, in a general way, the total appropriation for public health work will serve as a fair index to the State's interest in such work. The total public health appropriations of the Southern States—that is, of the ten from which I have heard—are, in the order of the largest to the smallest, as follows: Florida, \$75,000; Texas, \$49,320; North Carolina, \$45,000; Virginia, \$35,000; Maryland, \$35,000; Georgia, \$30,500; South Carolina, \$26,500; Mississippi, \$19,000; Arkansas, \$8,900; and Kentucky, \$30,000.

Probably the best index of the intelligent direction of a State's health work is the provision the State has made for the handling of its vital statistics, for without the information obtained in this way a State Board of Health cannot know where its services are most needed—that is, in what counties the highest general death rates obtain, or in what counties the highest death rate from tuberculosis obtains, or where typhoid fever is most rife, or where, as indicated by high death rates from the contagions, quarantine rules and regulations are least regarded. Nor can the State Board of Health in going to a sick county, or the county health officer in going to a sick township, demonstrate to the people, the thinking people, that generalities fail to touch, that their body politic is sicker than the average community, and therefore in greater need of health work in that particular place.

In the absence of vital statistics the State Board of Health is lacking the most powerful influence in sensitizing the public conscience to the need of health work. Without vital statistics—that is, without knowing the changes in the general death rate, the age death rate, and special death rates from the more important preventable diseases—the

State Board of Health has no way (except when the State government gives it the power to appoint and remove county and municipal health officers) to control the local health work. It cannot force a county or a city to retain an efficient health officer because it lacks the facts to show the efficiency of his work; nor can it, in the absence of recorded death rates for several years, force out of office a local health official whose death rates have not decreased in a reasonable time. Without vital statistics the people have no efficient check on their State Board of Health; they cannot know whether it is getting results or not, because the only results satisfactory to intelligent health administrations are shown in declining death rates. As the chart will show, there are only two States in the South whose vital statistics laws are so written and so enforced that their statistics are acceptable to the national government. These States are Maryland and Kentucky. There are five other Southern States that have recently obtained proper legal authority—that is, the Model Law, or power to adopt its regulations—for the collection of vital statistics. These States are Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, and Arkansas. Some of the five States have the law but not the enforcing power—that is, merely a dormant law—because they are lacking the appropriation with which to enforce it. The other Southern States have practically nothing in the way of reliable vital statistics. The greatest single need of the South, without the shadow of a doubt, is adequate vital statistics.

STATE LABORATORIES OF HYGIENE

These institutions are practically indispensable instruments in the managing of the State health problem. The ten Southern State Boards of Health from which I have reports have recognized this fact, and in every one of them there is a State Laboratory of Hygiene under the supervision of the State Board of Health. These State Laboratories of Hygiene were founded in the following order: Maryland, 1893; Florida, 1903; North Carolina, 1905; Georgia, 1905; Virginia, 1908; South Carolina, 1909; Kentucky, 1911; Texas, 1912; Arkansas, 1913; Mississippi, —.

The number of analyses made by each of these laboratories may furnish some index as to the recognition of their value by the State Boards of Health, the medical profession, and the general public of the different Southern States. In the order of the number of analyses made during the year 1912 the State Laboratories of Hygiene rank as follows: Kentucky, 36,239 analyses; Florida, 20,000 analyses; Virginia, 13,770 analyses; North Carolina, 14,823 analyses; Georgia, 7,295 analyses; Maryland, 7,148 analyses; South Carolina, 5,380 analyses; Texas, 2,164 analyses; Arkansas, — analyses; Mississippi, — analyses.

In justice to some of the laboratories attention should be called to the fact that in some States most of the microscopic examinations for hookworm disease are made in the laboratories, while in other States many of these examinations are made in the field, and are not included in the laboratory work.

Now, in addition to the examination of sputa for tubercular bacilli, swabs from the throat for diphtheria bacilli, blood for the Widal reaction of typhoid fever, the malarial parasite, and the examination of excreta for intestinal parasites, which I believe all State Laboratories of Hygiene make, some of the laboratories aid the medical profession by analyzing specimens of urine, pathological tissues, and make differential blood counts and examinations of blood smears for blood diseases at a nominal stipulation; many of these laboratories make regular analyses of samples of water from all public water supplies; others make such water analyses only when there is some indication of a pollution of a public water supply. On account of the large number of water-borne diseases, this would seem to be one of the most important fields of work for State Laboratories. Still another useful field that many of these laboratories are occupying is in the Pasteur treatment of people bitten by rabid animals. Those laboratories that are doing this work are saving to their States, in this item alone, more than the total amount spent on public health. Another useful field that these laboratories are occupying in the public service is in providing diphtheria antitoxin at a minimum rate, or free to

the people of the State. One of the laboratories (Georgia; there may be one or two others) is manufacturing its own antitoxin. Other State Laboratories are buying the antitoxin from reliable manufacturers at the lowest contract price and furnishing it at cost to the public. The usual reduction in the retail rates for antitoxin supplied in this way is:

1,000 units.....from \$2.00 to \$0.50
 3,000 units.....from 5.00 to 1.35
 5,000 units.....from 7.50 to 1.95

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF STATE BOARDS OF HEALTH OF SOUTHERN STATES

STATE	Bulletins			Press Service		Lectures
	Frequency	Size	Mailing List	Frequency	No. Papers	
Virginia ...	Monthly	16-32 pages	20,000	Weekly	165	About 400
Maryland ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	...	Many
S. Carolina	Quarterly	16 pages	12,000	.....	...	.....
N. Carolina	Monthly	16-32 pages	40,000	Weekly	250	About 100
Kentucky ..	Monthly	16 pages	4,000	Irregular	250	About 250
Florida	Monthly	16 pages	5,000	Weekly	170	Many
Arkansas ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	...	.....
Mississippi	Monthly	16 pages	5,000	Weekly	4	About 300
Georgia	Quarterly	30 pages	5,000	Semi-Weekly	150	Many
Texas	Monthly	78 pages	5,000	.....	...	.....

POPULAR EDUCATIONAL METHODS IN USE BY SOUTHERN STATE BOARDS OF HEALTH

Public health appropriations, public health legislation, and the enforcement of public health laws are all dependent upon a favorable public sentiment, and there is but one thing that makes a public sentiment favorable to the administration of health laws, and that is the education of the masses in regard to the important principles of sanitation that touch their common life.

Means that are adopted for the general education of the masses by Boards of Health are the issuance of popular bulletins, the distribution of pamphlets on special diseases, the maintenance of the press service, and illustrated and unillustrated lectures on preventable diseases. All of the ten Southern State Boards of Health from which I have heard, with the exception of Maryland, issue popular bulletins. All of these bulletins are issued monthly except in

the cases of Georgia and South Carolina, which States issue bulletins quarterly. These bulletins vary in size from sixteen to seventy-eight pages, octavo, and the mailing lists of the different State Boards of Health bulletins follow in the order of their size: North Carolina, 40,000; Virginia, 20,000; South Carolina, 12,000; Florida, 5,000; Mississippi, 5,000; Georgia, 5,000; Texas, 5,000; Kentucky, 4,000; Arkansas, —. Practically all the State Boards of Health keep in stock pamphlets on tuberculosis, typhoid fever, malaria, hookworm disease, sanitary privies, flies, mosquitoes, and other important sanitary subjects. These pamphlets are distributed to those requesting them.

The following Southern States maintain a regular weekly press service: Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, and Mississippi. Kentucky issues newspaper material when occasion arises. The newspaper material in all of the States where it is issued is mailed to all the State papers, weeklies and dailies, at the same time.

Most of the Southern State Boards of Health are giving lectures on sanitary matters wherever an opportunity presents itself. The State Board of Health of Virginia seems to appreciate the sanitary value of lectures more than any other Board, having delivered about 400 such lectures in 1912. Mississippi comes next with about 300 lectures, Kentucky with about 250, and North Carolina with about 100. Other States replying to the question as to the number of such lectures a year, say no record has been kept, and it is therefore impossible to give an approximate estimate.

MANAGEMENT OF PUBLIC WATER SUPPLIES BY STATE BOARDS OF HEALTH

STATE	Watershed Maps	Watershed Inspect'ns		Plans and Spec- ifications — Filtra- tion and Sewer- age Systems	Anal. Water Supplies	
		Re- qu'd	Frequency		Re- qu'd	Frequency
Virginia ...	Not Required	No	.....	Not Required	No	.....
Maryland ..	Not Required	No	.....	Not Required	No	.....
S. Carolina	Not Required	No	.....	Not Required	Yes	Quarterly
N. Carolina	Required	Yes	Quarterly	Required	Yes	Monthly
Kentucky ..	Required	Yes	Irregularly	Required	Yes	Irregularly
Florida	Not Required	No	.....	Not Required	No	.....
Arkansas ..	Not Required	No	.....	Not Required	No	.....
Mississippi	Not Required	No	.....	Not Required	Yes	Irregularly
Georgia	Not Required	Yes	Irregularly	Not Required	No	.....
Texas	Not Required	No	.....	Not Required	No	.....

THE SANITARY CONTROL OF PUBLIC WATER SUPPLIES

This is an important function of State Boards of Health on account of the large number of water-borne diseases, and because many public water supplies are not subject to the control of the municipality, or even the county in which they are used, and must therefore be an inter-county or State concern.

The measures that are adopted for the protection of public water supplies include the following State requirements: (1) That maps of the proposed watersheds, where the supply is a surface supply, shall be made, showing the proportion of cultivated and uncultivated land on the watershed, and showing the number of houses, barns, pigpens, privies, churches, graveyards, manufacturing establishments, etc., and their relation to streams; (2) that plans and specifications of all public waterworks and sewerage systems shall be made and submitted for approval to the State Board of Health preliminary to their installation; (3) that regular inspections, according to prescribed rules, of all watersheds shall be made and reported, over affidavit, by the proper authorities, on a form prescribed by the State Board of Health; and (4) that regular analyses of all public water supplies, both surface and ground, shall be made by the State Laboratory of Hygiene.

QUARANTINE

As quarantine is essential to the control of contagious diseases, it is one of the most important public health problems. There seems to be a fundamental difference of opinion among State Boards of Health as to the administration of proper quarantine laws. All of the Southern States from which I have had reports, with the exception of Florida and North Carolina, make the rules and regulations governing quarantine which the local Boards of Health are to enforce. The two States excepted leave both the making and the enforcement of quarantine laws to the same governmental unit. I might also mention the fact that these two States are opposed to quarantine and practice no quarantine whatever for smallpox.

TUBERCULOSIS

The relation of the State to the problem of tuberculosis seems as yet to be an unsettled matter. State sanatoria for the management of this disease exist in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, Georgia, and Texas. But in only one of these States—namely, Virginia—are the State sanatoria under the supervision of the State Board of Health. This statement raises the interesting question, which it might not be unprofitable for this committee to discuss—namely, the proper relation of State sanatoria for tuberculosis to State Boards of Health. The State of Kentucky has a special commission with \$15,000 appropriation to deal with the problem of tuberculosis. In my humble judgment the State Board of Health of Maryland is probably doing the best work in the prevention of tuberculosis of any Southern State Board of Health. Their plan is as follows: They have laws requiring attending physicians to report cases of the disease directly to the State Board of Health, and these reports are made on suitable blank forms supplying needed information about the victim of the disease. The pertinent question may here be raised as to how a State can enforce a law requiring the physicians to report the disease. This law can be enforced in States requiring the registration of deaths, provided the State Board of Health has sufficient funds (a large fund will not be necessary) to see if a death reported from tuberculosis was previously reported as a case of the disease, and, if it was not, who the attending physician of the victim was. Moreover, the forces necessary to check up and see that the vital statistics law of a State is properly enforced can, with very little additional work, see that the law requiring the reporting of tuberculosis is enforced. On receiving notice of a case of tuberculosis the State Board of Health of Maryland practically matriculates the victim as a member of a correspondence school, keeps in touch with him, making helpful suggestions from time to time and supplying him with spit cups, Japanese handkerchiefs, and other things helpful in the prevention of the disease.

THE SOCIAL ASPECT OF HEALTH PROMOTION

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It is conceded that the most important change taking place in the public mind is the rising conscience on health.

Time was when sickness was thought inevitable. It was accepted as a mysterious dispensation of providence. Moreover, the individual aspect only was thought of. Sickness was a positive factor in community and individual thought; health, negative. In addition, medical science was regarded as uncertain, methods as experimental, and agencies as remedial, not preventive.

Within forty years many discoveries have been made in biology, chemistry, and other natural sciences. Within two decades the science of medicine has advanced by leaps and bounds. Application of principles for the betterment of conditions is a logical consequence of further knowledge, but without the ideal of social oneness this can never widely obtain in health or any other social movement.

The first essential in any line of human endeavor is a scientific basis. There is now a proved body of principles, the long result of time and research which make a sure foundation for work of definite character in hygiene. In the promotion of public health this is fundamental. With this element given, it becomes the obligation of civilized intelligence to apply the principles—remedial, preventive, and constructive—to habits of the people and their standards of health.

Modern hygiene implies a health philosophy that is all-inclusive. While its application relates primarily to the individual, to be effective the measures must include the family and the larger family units, the community and the State. This makes public health clearly a social question.

Modern medicine gives a new point of view. Discoveries in this science have proved the falsity of traditional beliefs. Formerly sickness was thought to be caused by something

from without; then it was believed to be wholly from a cause within. Savages and semi-civilized people drove away the enemy with hideous noises; people of later times "drive out" with patent medicines.

There is a germ of truth in both the old and the later traditional notions of disease. The enemies are often from without, but they are not evil spirits to be driven away with drums. They are living microorganisms which can be seen, their growth watched, and their food supply known. Some are not enemies, many are hurtful. The study of them leads to the study, not of the physical alone, but of the body in its manifold relations to environment. This is the comprehensive scheme suggested by the scientific medical man of to-day.

With this in mind, it is clear that the modern sanitarian sees not the superficial in relation to community health, but the features which are fundamental.

Improvement depends upon a readjustment both in thought and practice. Housing, labor laws, food supply, methods, and recreation are some of the aspects of community life that must be placed on a new basis if established in the interest of health promotion.

An important factor in health progress is the realization of the economic phase. It has grown largely from the valuation put upon natural resources. A very few years ago, in the public eye, mines and forests and water power took on a new value. The idea became dominant that they should be regarded as capital, should be conserved for the future as well as used for present necessity. In addition, there has developed of late what may be termed a science of investigation of the vital assets of the nation.

Medical science and preventive medicine have proved clearly that illness is a waste element of great import. They have not only revealed this, but present a constructive scheme which, if followed, will develop and conserve vital resources in the same way that natural wealth is conserved and developed. Along with this has grown the notion that health is of more importance than any other element in civic welfare.

The nations which lead in the world to-day have accomplished the most in sanitary science applied to living. Germany and Sweden are notable examples. The achievements in Sweden are greater probably than in any other country because statesmen there grasped the health problem as a whole and, through the government, attacked fundamental sanitary evils. The scientific-minded German, in his attempt to apply the principles of sanitary science, also began with fundamentals. Health reforms in England, while not so universal, perhaps, as in the other countries, have taken radical form. The death rate in London has been cut in half. The supervision of private homes in many of London's tenement districts and the passage of the recent bill with reference to employment of the physicians by the State are two of the most radical health reforms known to the twentieth century.

In countries where it was possible to change general conditions in the interest of all, it has been considered wise and economic to expend sufficient money to rehabilitate the entire sanitary system. The results in Porto Rico, the Canal Zone, Cuba, and Manila have been widely quoted as the most notable experiment in the annals of health. In the cities of the United States there has been a movement within the past two decades which is indicative of appreciation of this new concept of health. Chicago has spent \$62,000,000 within the past fifteen years in the establishment of a pure water supply. Kansas City demolished whole sections which had been built up in houses that were distressingly insanitary, and made of a plague spot a section that is noted for its attractiveness. Rochester, Cleveland, Minneapolis, and Memphis are some others that have grasped this problem. Boston began in 1910 to campaign for an ideal Boston of 1915, and it is hoped that her ideal will be practically realized.

It is conceded sound business policy to spend all that is necessary to make a city not only clean but beautiful. These municipalities, had they not been convinced of the returns in value for the millions expended, would not have voted taxes for such amounts.

There are also evidences of a national awakening. If scientific management in a business enterprise pays, it will pay when applied to the organization which we call the nation. The first principle of scientific management demands efficiency on the part of those who are concerned in the work. If it is economic for the President of a lumber plant to establish rest rooms and hygienic environments for the employees in order that they may be kept up to a high standard physically, much more is it necessary that a wise government shall get rid of conditions which make for low vitality and establish those that will insure healthful development.

The policy by nation, State, or municipality of measures for improved health conditions is constructive in that it looks to the increase in physical vigor of the individual. The negative side is the decrease in the waste element, the results of sickness with its consequences. The few investigations which have been made suggest an enormous gain, material and vital, where this element of economic waste is eliminated. The cost in money to take care of unfortunates of all classes is tremendous, but the much greater cost—the one more to be considered and deplored—is in the lessening of the average physical tone and the results which come from the perpetuation of weakness, mental and physical.

A well man is worth more to his family and to society than the one who is sick. A well man is an asset; a sick man is a liability. If sickness meant only physical ills, it would be sufficiently deplorable; but it has consequences of far greater moment.

Other things being equal, a well man has opportunity to be a better man than one in pain, or one with unstrung nerves or a devitalized body. The individual who is sound is better informed; he can better resist temptation, or better decide conflicting interests. He is a safer member of society. A community made up of individuals in good health is relatively certain to advance more than one whose units are ill-balanced or low in vital force. Pain may bring out hidden strength or it may develop heroes or saints, but

these individuals are the exceptions. Physical pain in itself is not desirable.

Crime may not have a degenerate body as a background, but often it has. The present idea of insanity as shown in modern hospitals for the insane is proof of a change of view as to the manifestations of disease. Similarly, sentiment is now undergoing a transition in relation to the criminal.

It is conceded that many social evils are secondary results of illness. It is a conviction that for permanence the nation must have a foundation in health.

In the history of civilization there are many examples. The Hebrews followed the sanitary laws laid down by Moses, and remain even to-day an example of the effect of the practice of hygiene. No people in the world's history have surpassed the Greeks in intellectual achievements. Within a short period they laid the foundation for imperishable glory; it was rooted in physical perfection. While simple in habits and clear in mind, the Romans developed a republic the principles of which find expression in the civilization of the twentieth century. Among the peoples of modern times, the Germans and the English lead in progress. Both nations have a heritage in physical vigor and endurance.

Health implies in the individual mental power, moral strength, intelligent control of will, and a right perspective. The State is the sum of all the individuals.

In a democracy reforms come through the education of the people. Because of the personal element involved, quick response would be inferred. That it is not so is due to the character of the work. The changes go deep into the roots of the social structure. The people are slow to recognize their value. Adaptation to ideas radically different from those traditionally accepted is required, and, for many, a change in life habits.

Reform in this respect means an attack on existing institutions, a breaking of old customs, and the substitution of new ones for the purpose of reaching results in accordance with ideal conditions.

In recognition of the social value of health, many movements for betterment proceed with the central thought that the training must begin in the schools. Of all social agencies, this is the best for the development of a community conscience in health and other civic obligations. Recently, a student of sociological conditions wrote: "When a biological philosophy unconsciously underlies 'education,' as a theological philosophy so long underlay it, we shall have come from an old world into a new."

But, in addition to the efforts which primarily are educational, many other social activities give hope of a new order. Industrial insurance, child welfare movements under auspices of municipal and State authorities, development of the science of eugenics, industrial hygiene, and socialization of the physician as sanitarian, are some of these.

The new philosophy assumes that the child has a right to be well born, to be born of parents free from disease; a right to sunlight, fresh air, and pure water; a right to grow in surroundings fitted for physical development of the highest type. It assumes that laws to insure these conditions are more potent in the nation's growth and permanence than those that relate to its political or economic status. The new social philosophy embodies the idea of the social obligation of the State to the individual, and reciprocally of the individual to the whole. It finds expression in emphasis of the physical because that is the basis for the higher development. It is the twentieth-century flower, the seeds of which were planted many centuries ago.

PUBLIC HEALTH PROBLEMS AND SOUTHERN PROSPERITY

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THE conservation of life and health is one of the most important functions of any government, but no one can deny that our nation has suffered from its failure to properly appreciate the necessity for protecting its citizens from the ravages of disease. That the South has suffered from this shortsighted public health policy more than any other section of our country, must be admitted by every one who has studied the epidemiology of the endemic diseases in the United States.

The conditions responsible for the greater prevalence of disease in the South are the same that make it the greatest agricultural section of this or any other country, and which give it a monopoly of the world's largest money crop—cotton. The bright sunshine, the deep fertile soil, and the annual rainfall necessary for the growth of all agricultural products also provide the warmth and moisture favorable for the development of the parasites that cause diseases like malaria, hookworm, pellagra, typhoid fever, dysentery, and other diseases that prevail in tropical and subtropical countries. These diseases exist north of the Potomac and the Ohio, but we must be honest with ourselves and admit that the South is the greatest sufferer from their ravages. It is merely the application of the law of compensation. The South, having the most glorious climate and the other conditions to make it the most productive and the most prosperous section of the greatest country in the world, must suffer the penalty of the greater prevalence of tropical diseases.

Medical science has proved, however, that we can remove this handicap. The elimination of yellow fever, the

most dreaded of all tropical diseases, has already been accomplished, and it remains only to apply our present knowledge of the prevention of malaria and other endemic diseases to eradicate them from the South. The Southern Sociological Congress in bringing together public officials, philanthropists, physicians, sanitarians, and others interested in the social betterment of the inhabitants of our fair Southland, for the discussion of public health and other allied problems, is performing incalculable service for the material and industrial development of the States from which its representatives come.

That a good health record is important for the agricultural and industrial development of a country, is manifest to any one who has seriously considered the question. Capitalists, in seeking new locations for great enterprises or for colonizing immigrants upon undeveloped lands, other things being equal, select places having the best record for health.

One of the reasons why Atlanta has had such great prosperity and has attracted so much Northern and Eastern capital is because she has always been advertised and heralded as one of the most healthful spots on the globe. The oft-repeated statements, "Atlanta is free from malaria" and "Yellow fever cannot live here," combined with the aggressive and progressive "Atlanta spirit," have induced many enterprises to locate in this locality instead of in other Southern cities. Atlanta deserves her great prosperity, and the people of the South rejoice in this city's wonderful growth and progress. The plea that I am making is that other Southern cities and all Southern States shall follow Atlanta's example if they have not already done so—*i. e.*, make records for healthfulness, and then advertise the fact to the world.

MALARIA

Perhaps the most important health problem which affects the prosperity of the South is malaria. One has but to travel in the Eastern, Northern, and Western States to find that in those sections the entire South is regarded

as a hotbed for malaria; and no doubt thousands of settlers have sought homes in the West and elsewhere because they feared to bring their families to a section which they considered so unhealthful as the South, and many travelers avoid the South from the fear of becoming infected with malaria. I realize that much of this is due to prejudice and to ignorance of health conditions in the South; but it is also true that we have more malaria than we should have, because, with our present knowledge of the disease, we should have none at all.

That malaria has played a major part in the fall of nations is shown from the study of Grecian and Roman history. Dr. W. S. Thayer, of the Johns Hopkins Medical School, in his masterly and eloquent oration on medicine before the American Medical Association three years ago, showed that the decadence of the Greeks is largely due to malaria. It is also true that malaria has had much to do with the transformation of the ancient "lordly Roman," who was "greater than a king," into the fruit-vending "Dago" whom we see on our streets to-day.

Though Italy has suffered more from malaria than any other nation, it should be said to the credit of her physicians that they have studied the disease more carefully and have contributed more than any other nation to our present scientific and practical knowledge of malaria. The Italians are making practical use of their knowledge of malaria, as is shown by the fact that their mortality rate from that disease has been reduced two-thirds in five years (Thayer). With the life- and energy-sapping malaria removed from the Italian peninsula, Italy may again become one of the leading nations of the world.

In the earlier years of this republic, and even in the first few decades of the last century, malaria was prevalent in the Southern States to an extent that greatly interfered with their material development. At that time quinine was such a rare and expensive drug that it could not be obtained, particularly in the rural districts; and since nothing was known as to the nature and cause of the disease, thousands died from malignant types of malaria.

the first time in a century, but made it as healthful a city as New York or any other American city. The same wonderful results were achieved by the labors of Colonel Gorgas and his assistants in the Panama Canal Zone, which rendered that locality one of the most healthful spots on the globe, and made possible the completion of the Canal.

In ridding New Orleans of yellow fever in 1905, Dr. J. H. White, of the United States Public Health Service, demonstrated to the world that a well-established epidemic, even under the most favorable conditions, can be stamped out of a city during the summer, and now no intelligent man believes that any serious epidemic of yellow fever can ever again occur in the South. For this work, Dr. White's name deserves to be ranked with that of Gorgas, and the entire South owes him a debt of gratitude which it can never pay.

The United States Public Health Service is performing invaluable service in preventing the introduction of yellow fever into the South; but the Gulf cities should do their part in destroying the breeding places of the stegomyia, so that in the event of the possibility of a case of yellow fever being introduced the disease could not spread. I regret to admit that the Gulf cities are not doing their full duty in destroying mosquitoes and in keeping conditions such that yellow fever could not spread if a case should be introduced without the knowledge of the health authorities. This is going to become more important as our commerce increases with the Central and South American countries; and for the sake of commercial safety, it is the duty of the Southern States, and particularly the cities of the Gulf Coast, to become so free from the stegomyia that should a case slip through the efficient quarantine of the United States Public Health Service, no other cases would develop.

UNCINARIASIS

Among the beneficent results of the Spanish-American War was the impetus given to the study of tropical diseases by American physicians and scientists, and one of the greatest discoveries of recent years, one which should rank with

that of proving the mosquito transmission of yellow fever, was that of Charles Wardell Stiles, Chief of the Division of Zoölogy of the United States Public Health Service, who discovered that the anemia which was the cause of about one-third of all deaths on the island of Porto Rico was due to an intestinal parasite, the hookworm. He also discovered that the anemia seen among the poor whites in the rural districts of the South was due to the same cause. This hookworm anemia, by sapping the energy and strength of the men, women, and particularly the children, made them stupid and shiftless so that the malady was called the "lazy" disease. Thousands have died in the rural districts of the South, and many more have been made inefficient workers, because of this disease. The lands have not been properly cultivated and many of the poor whites of the rural districts have not made good citizens because they were really ill from hookworm anemia.

With the development of the cotton mill industry in the South, the whites from the rural districts were brought together as operatives in the mills and many of them became pale, lazy, and stupid, a condition which was called cotton mill anemia. This condition was thought to be due to the inhalation of dust and lint, but Dr. Stiles proved it to be hookworm disease, and due to soil pollution.

By the administration of a few doses of thymol, those poor, unfortunate individuals may be cured of this disease, and thousands have already been relieved and are leading happy and efficient lives. Thymol is a specific remedy for hookworm, but it is better to go back of this and prevent the disease. Soil pollution is the source of the spread of hookworm, and the suggestions of Dr. Stiles as to its prevention that are being carried out by the Rockefeller Commission for the Eradication of the Hookworm are aiding materially in the solution of another of the problems affecting Southern prosperity.

PELLAGRA

Perhaps no other disease which is supposed to prevail more in the South than in other parts of the country is so

Much may be accomplished in preventing disease by educating the negroes along the right lines. The South has done nobly in educating the negroes; and, added to the public schools supported by the States, Northern and Eastern philanthropists have endowed the negro schools and colleges to an extent that negro children have perhaps better opportunities for obtaining both a common school and collegiate education than have our white children; but the moral, physical, and hygienic education of the race is almost wholly neglected.

The whites should see to it that the negroes are properly educated. They should be taught that health and happiness come from regularity of habits of work, diet, recreation, and sleep, and that a liberal amount of each is required to keep in perfect health. Above all, they should be taught the honor and manliness of physical labor; that an education fits them for their life's work, and not for a life of idleness and luxury; and that there is in farming as much honor and better health than in teaching and preaching.

Industrial education properly carried out is a movement capable of doing great good for the race. The negroes should be taught to save their money and put it in homes and farms; that for their race the dangers of Sodom lie in the towns and cities. That disease and death lurk there is proved by the enormous mortality rate of the negroes in the cities. These things and much more should be taught the negroes, not only to make them good citizens and for the sake of right, but to make them stronger physically, so that they may resist the infection of tuberculosis and other diseases.

CONCLUSIONS

The problems which I have mentioned are, in my opinion, among the most important questions facing the South. Indeed, our future depends largely upon their solution. If the Southern States can be freed from the diseases mentioned, if the poor whites and the negroes of the South can be made stronger physically and morally and become efficient laborers, capital and capitalists will pour into this

section to develop our magnificent resources. The cotton mills will come to the cotton fields, our iron and other mineral resources will be developed to an extent hitherto not dreamed of, and our Gulf and Atlantic Coast cities will become shipping and manufacturing cities of great importance. Prove that yellow fever and malaria are forever stamped from the South, and our prosperity will amaze the world.

Dr. Gorgas, in a recent address before the New York Academy of Medicine, said: "With the removal of yellow fever and malaria, the tropics will become the centers of civilization of the world."

Before this becomes true of the tropics, the centers of industry and progress must first come to the South, and the recent progress and prosperity of this section would indicate that the day is not far distant when this hope will be realized. The Southern Sociological Congress should lead in the solution of these problems. Let us arise to our full duty in performing this obligation to mankind.

HOW WILMINGTON WAS MADE A HEALTHY CITY

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THE health officer has no difficulty in obtaining information with reference to the control of his milk supply, his water supply, his waste disposal, and the limitation of infection. He can secure a wealth of data on the construction of sanitary engines and their management, and it is possible to secure very clear and lucid descriptions of epidemic control; but in the handling of the public, upon whose permission everything depends, and by whose tolerance his work is limited, there is little information. The manner of dealing with the public as we practiced it in Wilmington is open to serious objection and well-founded criticism. There was danger at all times that the work of our department would

be terminated suddenly by the operation of political influences backed by the natural resentment of the people, who were irritated under persistent adverse criticism. There is one saving feature connected with this plan, in my opinion, which counterbalances all objections, and that is the universal demand in America for a clear field and fair play. If a man is right in his contention, and he can demonstrate to the public that he is right, he can feel reasonably safe in insisting on a method or measure for the public good in any way that he may see fit, short of physical violence and open insult, feeling secure in the knowledge that the thinking public will recognize the right of his contention and will support him in the face of any unreasonable or ill-advised opposition.

Wherever laws are made by the direct representatives of the people, there seems to be a reservation on the part of the people, through which they permit themselves to ignore or, as is often the case, openly violate these laws. The fallibility of human judgment makes it impossible for any body of men to enact laws which are completely enforceable in both the spirit and the letter. Laws must be elastic and must be subject, within certain limitations, to the discretion of the officers of the courts. However, it is universally recognized that the highest type of civilization is represented in that State or community in which the laws are respectfully observed by the public and conscientiously administered by the courts.

In the last analysis, it certainly appears that the enforcement of law is almost completely dependent upon the desire of the people, and the basis for this desire is always an understanding of the necessity for laws and an appreciation of the benefits to be derived from their enforcement. The education of the people in the detail of conditions upon which their well-being rests is the only means through which the further development of civilization can be achieved.

Education along the line of health preservation has but recently become a matter of wide interest and concern. It has been the habit of man to leave the welfare of his body

to chance and the doctor. The discoveries of science have reduced much of the detail of physical welfare to a point where it is possible to lay down broad general principles and specific rules which, if considered and observed, will prevent illness and prolong life. The great difficulty in educating people up to a proper appreciation and understanding of these rules, so that they may be intelligently observed, lies in the fact that the average mind is not trained sufficiently to estimate values established through scientific processes. This condition obtains everywhere; but each section of the country, and each of the varying states of society, presents special problems which must be taken into consideration in preparing for the enforcement of health regulations.

The rapid development of scientific preventive medical practice, which is the basis of sanitary regulation, has established necessities in the way of legal enactment for the protection of society, which the masses are incapable of understanding. They naturally resent enforcement of these regulations, and more especially so when the great majority of sanitary laws involve change of fixed habit, personal inconvenience, and the expenditure of money. The obstructions to health work in Wilmington can be attributed, to a very large extent, to this basic cause. From what I can gather from the history of public health work in other Southern cities, our city varies in no way from the general rule.

Every city in every part of the country has its ignorant and unreasoning class, which, under the guidance of unscrupulous leaders, wields an important influence in politics, and therefore in the quality of the local government. There can also be found in every city or town a more or less large and influential class whose holdings in tenement property, which must be improved under sanitary regulations, cause them to align themselves in opposition to any governmental influence which is urging the passage and observance of sanitary law necessitating such improvements. Added to these there is usually found a very small group of influential citizens who are allied with the medical

profession, included in which may be some who have previously been identified with public health work. If such a group as this exists, and through lack of understanding and sympathy its members criticise the detail and value of the methods proposed and employed by the health authorities, the two influential groups mentioned first gain power and encouragement from the criticisms of this usually so-called conservative group, and thus very serious interference may arise. The politician, his ignorant satellites, and the tenement landlords eagerly solicit and industriously use every argument and adverse expression of opinion that they can extract by any means from any source, respectable or otherwise. If it is possible for them to quote with safety from the utterances of medical or public health men any opinions which can be construed as adverse criticism of the requirements of the Health Department, they are able to fortify themselves in their position, and through argument gain a wider support. Thus through a combination of social, political, and commercial interests, supported by such professional opinion as they can acquire, the opposition to public health work is created and maintained wherever such opposition exists.

There is but one way to combat such opposition, and that is by the patient and persistent use of educational publicity, so presented that the man with the untrained mind can have no difficulty in applying its teachings to his own welfare and confirming its statements from his own observations. The basis of such publicity must be the vital statistics of the town or region in which the work is to be carried forward. There are few towns of any size in America in which records of death for the past five years, at least, cannot be found. Some person must have the interest and the industry to make abstracts of these records, and to estimate the death rates for the various preventable diseases. Having this data in hand, it is easy to correlate the death rates with the local insanitary conditions. It is not difficult to demonstrate the relation between an insanitary excreta disposal and high death rates from the intestinal infections. The same may be said of bad water supply

and this class of diseases. High death rates from the exanthematous diseases, diphtheria and whooping cough, can be traced directly to inefficient quarantine and the failure to exclude possible sources of infection from the public schools and other places of assembly. A continuous insistence on the importance and economic value of public health work, and the frank statement in the local newspapers of the local conditions and necessities, cannot fail to make an impression, and if continued will most certainly win the approval and support of all intelligent citizens, and will destroy the influence of even the most persistent opposition.

Such success as has been achieved in Wilmington must be attributed for the greater part to a policy of frank publicity, which was only possible through the coöperation of the press.

At the beginning of the effort, during the summer of 1910, Mr. James H. Cowan, editor of the *Evening Dispatch*, became intensely interested in local health conditions and generously offered the columns of his publication as the agent of publicity. This campaign of publicity began with the publication of a comparison of the death rates from all causes in a number of cities. These statistics were presented with a column and a half article in which there was a very frank statement of the local conditions which made Wilmington occupy such a disadvantageous position in the comparison. This article was followed by the daily presentation of a statement of the comparative death rates for one of the preventable diseases, using the same cities as in the first comparison. A frank and simple statement of local conditions and their influence on the prevalence of each of these diseases accompanied each comparison. When the preventable diseases had been exhausted, we occupied the space in the *Dispatch* each day with a frank criticism of some local insanitary condition which influenced the health states of the community. These articles were prepared without reference to the quality or extent of either the public or private offense which they might give. They appeared throughout the season at Wrightsville Beach, while hun-

dreds of visitors were passing through the city. The time was extremely favorable, for it insured a most spirited controversy as a means of securing attention. Many of the influential business men of the city resented the publication of these articles, because of their supposed influence upon the popularity of Wrightsville Beach and upon the commercial interests of the city, which they feared would lose through keeping away visitors. There was no such result. There was an active and eloquent partisanship developed on both sides. The health question became the subject of street talk. Efforts were inaugurated by the city government to clean up the town and make a showing of activity along public health lines. Many of the people sought other sources of information, and found that the statements made in the newspaper articles were true. The interest in public health matters was kept alive during the fall and winter of 1910 and 1911, so that when the new commission form of government was installed in May, 1911, there was a sufficiently powerful public demand for efficient public health work to fix it definitely as one of the policies of the incoming government.

When the new department of health was formed, its first act was to make it plain to the press of the city that all of its transactions, plans, and aspirations were public property. The health office became immediately attractive to the representatives of the newspapers. Many of the proceedings in the Health Department were novel and interesting; and as these proceedings affected the daily life of the citizens, an account of their nature and object had definite news value. Care was always taken to explain fully our plans and intentions, to describe our methods, and to state clearly the hoped-for accomplishments. In a very great majority of instances these explanations were presented as signed statements by the Superintendent of Health. This was necessary in order to secure an authoritative presentation of the subject, and to avoid confusion and misleading statements. Absolute frank publicity regardless of expediency has been the policy of the office since the beginning. Sanitary regulations adopted by the Council

upon recommendation from the Health Department very quickly became the subjects of public controversy. Every argument against these regulations was clearly and fully met in signed statements in the public press. Unheard-of things were being exacted in the name of sanitation, and the people were not slow to resent the enforcement of any regulation which occasioned personal discomfort, the expenditure of money, or the forfeiture of privilege. The progress of our work was characterized by continuous adverse criticism from some source. The criticisms of the ignorant furnished us the opportunity for public instruction in the principles of sanitation. Criticism on a commercial basis gave us the opportunity to discuss public health work from the economic standpoint. In fact, every phase of the criticism was utilized in furnishing a text from which to preach a public health sermon in the daily papers.

Whenever in the deliberations of the commission any question arose impinging in any way upon the public health work, this feature was immediately presented to the commission as succinctly and forcibly as possible, and the reporters present at these meetings were impressed with the desirability of including such statements in their reports of the proceedings of the commission. Special written reports were submitted each month, and many times oftener, on some phase of the public health work. Typewritten copies of these reports were made for the reporters, and on no occasion did the papers refuse to accept such copy. The policy pursued by the department throughout was to fix the attention of the public upon its work by any means, and to lose no opportunity for the instruction of the public in public health methods and the reasons for their local application. The Health Department and its head soon acquired the reputation of being offensively active in self-exploitation. They were always in the spot light, and if necessary they did not hesitate to crowd others out of that envied position. This became an additional source of controversy and splendidly served the purpose of continuing public interest.

The interest in public health work was thus sustained until the results became apparent and its activities were

justified. Much of this experience was far from being pleasant; but the end justified the means, for at this time there is no community in the South so widely informed in the detail of sanitation, and what might have been the work of a generation has been reduced to such an extent that we confidently hope to make Wilmington the most healthful city in America within the next five years.

THE TWILIGHT ZONE OF CHILD LIFE

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"A BEAUTIFUL bundle of possibilities called a babe." With these words a famous bishop was accustomed to present infants to the baptismal font. He probably never knew how full of biological truth were his words, for character is really the product of the combination of heredity and environment. Therefore, since at birth the individual is endowed with all the possibilities (hereditary) that he will ever possess, it remains for environment to develop such of these possibilities as will determine the individual characteristics of the adult. In other words, at birth we are, characteristically speaking, the composite picture of our ancestors, *the adult product depending on cell development*. Hence on environment rests the responsibility of developing one set of cell determinors at the expense of another set of determinors. "Since environment cannot be all things at once, many hereditary possibilities must remain latent or undeveloped." By way of illustration, let us assume a child to be born with an equal number of beneficent and malevolent cell determinors and let such a child be placed from birth to adolescence in a salutary environment. We may naturally presume that more good than bad determinors will be developed and that the bad determinors will be merely latent and the adult product strongly on the side for good. Conversely let the environment be unwholesome during the same period, and we have every reason to

believe that the result will be a character whose tendencies are for bad. I think, therefore, it is clear that, however great a part heredity may play in character formation, environment is probably in the greater number of instances more important, except in cases of feeble-mindedness; and even here surroundings may determine whether the imbecile will be criminal or harmless.

I regret that we cannot consider the training of the child during the early and most important years of his life; but, since this has to do entirely with home training, it is not pertinent to this occasion, so we must confine our consideration to the years of school life.

On entering school a child sooner or later finds himself in one of two classes—namely, those who progress or those who fail to progress. The child who fails to progress is a laggard. This child is in “the twilight zone of child life.” What are we as a municipality, as a commonwealth, as a nation going to do to lift this child out of this “twilight zone” into the full sunlight of child life? or fail to do, and let it sink deeper and deeper into utter darkness? A brief look at the cause which produces this condition is necessary to a proper appreciation of remedial effort.

For many years, and in fact until very recently, the child who did not make satisfactory progress in his studies was considered lazy or willfully indolent. So strong was this conception in fact that it was supposed that whipping or other forms of punishment were necessary to force the child to study. This method resulted only in a continuation of retardation because the fundamental conception was erroneous. To-day scientific students consider all laggards as belonging to two general classes: one, mentally subnormal; the other, and by far the larger, those whose mental faculties are impaired by physical defects. Normal children have naturally inquiring minds and grasp with avidity any knowledge which may be presented to them, *provided their interest is kept up.*

In order to be systematic, the causes of retardation and elimination may be divided into mental, sociologic, administrative, and physical.

There is in every community a more or less definite proportion of children who are feeble-minded, ranging from idiocy through the several degrees of imbecility with varying capabilities to the highest type of impaired mentality which may be distinguished only with difficulty from the normal child. For such children there is no place in the public school, but they rather require the most careful instruction in institutions under the guidance of specially trained teachers. And yet a not inconsiderable number of mental defectives are always to be found in school and must of necessity be handled there according to their degree of defection.

Sociologic conditions play so important a part in retardation that they demand most careful consideration on the part of school systems and must be dealt with directly by educational boards. Irregular attendance is one of the most potent factors in retardation and elimination. This is usually due to lack of interest on the part of parents who do not realize the importance of constant and regular attendance; but not infrequently to sickness of the pupil himself or of other members of the family, necessitating the child's remaining at home to help care for the sick, and to the necessary and unavoidably long quarantine of contagious diseases. Furthermore, among the poor, many of whom look upon the child largely as a possible wage-earner, the children are kept away from school to work at certain periods of the year when their services are in special demand, or altogether at an early age to aid in the permanent support of the family.

The home environment, both social and sanitary; the quality and quantity of food; amount of sleep; fresh air and recreation—all bear directly on the health and habits of the child and materially affect his progress in school, to say nothing of his career throughout life.

It is well recognized that there is much room for improvement in the administration of the present-day school system, which has developed largely around the conception of preparation for higher institutions of learning, forgetting the vast majority of children who never even get be-

yond the graded school and must go out into life with no further preparation. Hence the utilitarian point of view has for the moment been overshadowed. It is possible on this occasion merely to mention some of the instances where change is most strongly indicated. Grading by age rather than mental capability has been the basal error. I believe that in most public school curricula the further error has been committed of fitting the course of study, not to the capacity of the average pupil, but rather to that of the bright pupil. If this is true, it is obvious that the dull child starts his school life with an almost insurmountable handicap.

The curriculum is dangerously near the point of overcrowding while the rooms are filled to their utmost capacity, leaving no opportunity for individualization and taxing the already overburdened teacher, making her physically incapable of giving necessary attention either to the class or to the individual child.

While all these matters are of vast importance and deserve full discussion and consideration, we hasten to the most important and far-reaching cause—physical defects. The vast majority of laggards are mentally normal, but embarrassed by physical defects, which in turn impair the mental capabilities to such an extent as to place them in the subnormal class. This has been proved in many systems by correcting these defects and improving the general physical condition of the child, after which in many instances he has advanced from the foot of a repeated grade to his normal position in the class.

Defects of vision not only cause eye strain and headache, thereby impairing the child's ability to study properly, but, what is more important, are the cause of his gaining an imperfect perception of written language; likewise the child whose hearing is impaired forms a very imperfect idea of sound. The correct use of language, whether written or spoken, depends on a correct perception of the word or sound, and cannot be used correctly unless seen clearly or heard distinctly. This is especially important during the formative years of life; for unless correct habits and ideas

of speech are acquired during this period, the speech will be defective and knowledge correspondingly inaccurate, and this to an extent that cannot be overcome even by the most extended and thorough higher education.

Anemia, lack of proper exercise, heart conditions, imperfect teeth, crooked spines, and a number of other defects not only influence the capabilities of the child's mind, but determine the state of health for all time.

The effects of retardation on school, child, and community are too far-reaching for comprehensive discussion in the scope of this paper; a suggestion must suffice. The influence of backward pupils in a grade is detrimental to the whole class, since the remainder of the pupils are retarded for the benefit of the few, and the progress of the room is generally unsatisfactory. Further, their presence promotes laziness and inattention on the part of bright pupils who are themselves often a menace through their very brightness. Also the average pupil lacks sufficient incentive of competition to make him rise above the average, which he would no doubt do through greater mental activity. But what of the effect on the child himself and the community at large? The child is first discouraged and then attention ceases to be fixed because of his inability to grasp the lesson; finally, completely disheartened, he becomes a drone in the school, retards the progress of other pupils, and, unable to occupy his time with the routine work of the school, gives vent to the accumulated animal spirits in mischievous pranks which, being oft repeated, ultimately lower the whole moral tone of the school. In addition to vicious tendencies thus formed, these children, who have not kept up with their work and have frequently repeated a grade, soon leave school before the completion of the course; having failed to learn concentration of energy and self-control, they are not only unfitted for the usual vocations, but are even a menace to society; running the gamut of youthful indiscretion, petty offenses against the law, and only too often crimes of the worst sort; subsisting on dishonesty and successfully evading arrest; or, on the other hand, becoming too bold and less vigilant, are apprehended and become bur-

dens on the commonwealth as term prisoners in the State penitentiary. Thus they are in every way analagous to the feeble-minded.

The accusation has been frequently, and recently, quite strenuously made in some of the popular magazines that the present system of education is expensive and that we do not get out of it a high degree of efficiency. Be this as it may, the largest leakage is through the laggard who, on account of frequent repetitions, costs the United States, by conservative estimate, each year between twenty and thirty million dollars. This is merely while they are attending school. It is impossible to compute the cost of their maintenance in after life as non-producers, paupers, and prisoners, hence parasites on the community in which they live, to say nothing of the fact that each repeater keeps some other child out of school who needs and is entitled to the training. Therefore from an economic standpoint alone this class is deserving of our most careful attention.

Let us see finally what can be done for this problematical child, to help him out of the twilight zone, to help him keep up with the curriculum, to better fit him for life's battles, to make him a useful and wealth-producing citizen, and to lead him away from vicious habits into the way of right living—in short, to throw around him such environment as will develop the beneficent cell determinors and thus cause the undesirable ones to remain dormant. We should bear constantly in mind that the school should not only fit for life, but also that the "school is a part of life, and not 'preparation' only." The first and most important remedial measure is efficient and adequate medical inspection of all school children through the employment of trained physicians and interested visiting district nurses.

As has already been said, there is no place in the public school system for the feeble-minded; yet we find many defectives in the schools and must deal with them when found. Hence no examination of school children is complete without the Binet test for mentality, for only in this way can we fit the course of study to the child rather than the child to the course of study as is usually done. For the

purpose, therefore, of aiding this child and also the whole school, it is absolutely necessary that all children who are subnormal should be placed in ungraded rooms or schools as well as those who are unmanageable, for in the ultimate analysis it will probably be found that these unmanageable children belong to the feeble-minded class. They are rarely children who keep up with their work; but even if they do, their feeble-mindedness is manifested in the moral direction through lack of self-control. Ungraded rooms should be in charge of specially trained teachers who should not have more than ten pupils under their care.

Home environment should be investigated most carefully. In this branch of the work the school nurse is indispensable, for it is through her efforts that family conditions can be discovered and, by tactful handling, whatever is improper corrected to the end that the child will live in a more wholesome atmosphere and thereby be, physically at least, markedly benefited; while families who are poor can be brought to the attention of the proper philanthropic organizations, which by their careful and well-advised aid may help the family financially or otherwise and thereby keep the children in school through the normal period of school life.

I know of no greater factor in the improvement of home conditions than the visiting district school nurse; and if my choice were between medical inspectors and nurses, although both are essential, I should certainly choose the nurse.

The correction of administrative errors of school systems which are to a large extent responsible for retardation, elimination, and the sending out of children unprepared for their life work requires a careful and delicate readjustment of existing conditions. This readjustment cannot take place in a moment, nor is it necessary that it should be done on a wholesale plan as advocated by many recent writers. A close and careful scrutiny of the system on the part of educators of all grades on the one hand and representatives of the various professions and business interests on the other will develop the fact, I am quite sure, that these errors

can be corrected in most instances by very small rearrangements, provided that the broad principle of fitness for life on the part of the ninety-odd per cent of the pupils in the public schools who never enter an institution of higher learning be kept constantly in mind; and that we have to effect a uniformity rather than an identity of training. I am firmly convinced that identity is neither practical nor desirable, and that children who come from homes representing the educated and well-to-do classes need a decidedly different method of instruction from those belonging to the uneducated classes; for, in the former instance, we presume that the child returns to a home where correct speech is used and the mode of life approaches somewhat the ideal; whereas in the second class he must labor under the disadvantage of having to overcome home environment rather than be aided by it.

No child should be required to wait until he is of a certain age before entering school, neither should the child be placed in school merely because he has attained the so-called school age, but rather should every child seeking admission be subjected to a test for mental efficiency and admitted and graded according to this test. Semiannual promotion has done much toward the proper grading of children and should be further extended until its influence is felt to its fullest capacity.

I have already stated that in ungraded rooms *ten* should be the maximum limit of pupils per teacher, and under no conditions should the children in a supposedly normal grade exceed the number of thirty-five.

The all-too-frequent custom of intrusting the care of children, physically, to superannuated politicians and otherwise crippled pensioners on the community should rapidly give place to the more rational practice of carefully training janitors in school hygiene before placing them in charge of school buildings.

I have tried to point out briefly and concisely the importance of the correlation of all the forces which tend toward retardation, and have suggested a few instances where improvement is most needed; but in the correction

of physical defects of all kinds we can hope for the most striking results. The removal of adenoids and tonsils, when unusually enlarged and diseased, is perhaps the point of greatest importance, though there are other defects of the physical make-up of children requiring prompt attention. It has been argued by some—and, I am sorry to say, among them physicians of ability—that many of these defects which have been dwelt upon by school hygienists as of such vital importance will be outgrown. This is in part true, though only sufficiently so as to give us a false sense of security and tempt us to a fatal procrastination. It has been shown repeatedly that the older children in the schools have fewer physical defects than the younger, which shows that many of them have been outgrown; but, unfortunately, they have existed at the time when they most seriously affected the health and mentality of the children, consequently it is exceedingly important that they be corrected during the emphasized formative period.

Diseased teeth are not only disfiguring but also dangerous to health, since they harbor in their cavities disease-producing germs which, because of their location, are in easy access to the physical economy and more or less permanently impair the child's vitality. The anæmias incident to school life, especially at the age of puberty, can best be corrected by shortening the hours of school work and placing the children thus affected in properly equipped and ungraded open-air rooms. Under no circumstances, however, should the ungraded room used for the physical defectives be used at the same time for the mental defectives.

The detection of contagious disease is an important part of the school inspector's duty. Through this means widespread epidemics can often be prevented, with a consequent saving of time and money to the whole community; while the detection of defective eyesight is of such importance that I feel no further comment is necessary.

Modern investigation into the cause of delinquency, however, goes further and investigates accurately the state of nutrition, sense of touch, motor control, and general co-ordination of the forces, and recommends the proper method

of procedure in individual cases. Incidentally, the manual arts are exceedingly important in establishing a balance and coördination of mental and physical forces. It is neither possible nor advisable for the department of school hygiene to attempt any correction of the discovered defects; it rather hopes to obtain results through the education of the public as to what is necessary and by recommending the proper treatment to parent or guardian. It is particularly interesting to observe the duty of the visiting nurse under these circumstances. Upon her rests the responsibility of visiting the home and explaining to the parents the advantages to be gained through following the advice of the medical inspector and inducing them to comply as promptly as possible. For those who are not financially able to furnish glasses or pay for the proper medical attention, municipal clinics should be conducted; for what better investment from a truly economic standpoint can there be in any community than the developing of a healthy and educated citizenship?

And may I be bold enough to suggest that only when the Utopia of compulsory education is reached can we hope best to realize through medical inspection the dream of the eugenist and at an early age discover those among the children of our land who will probably be mentally and physically unfit to be the parents of future generations? "On the health of the people depends the strength of a nation." Our nation is growing from within; countless hordes of immigrants are making daily assaults on our shores in a friendly warfare and struggle for that liberty which only America can offer. On the education of all the people, not alone in book knowledge, but also in that knowledge which will teach them how to live and will so modify the environment of the youth of our land as to develop the best that is in them and allow the worst to remain dormant, lies the only possible hope for making us the great and virile nation which God intended we should be and thereby safeguard the future of America.

METHODS OF RURAL SCHOOL INSPECTION IN
VIRGINIAROY K. FLANNAGAN, M.D., DIRECTOR OF INSPECTIONS, STATE
BOARD OF HEALTH OF VIRGINIA

IN January of this year (1913) the Virginia State Board of Health, in conjunction with the State Board of Education and the Department of Education of the University of Virginia, undertook an intensive inspection of the rural schools and school children of Orange County, Va. Orange County was chosen primarily because it was an average county, easily accessible to the University of Virginia, which was proposed to be the headquarters of the investigation, and from which specialists had volunteered their aid. It is a county of moderate size, with fairly good roads, and has a homogeneous, strictly American population, about evenly divided as to whites and negroes. It is almost wholly rural, and there are few, if any, very poor or very rich people within its borders.

Orange County is traversed by two main trunk lines of railway, the Chesapeake & Ohio and the Southern, and in an easterly direction by a narrow-gauge road. It was thought that these railroads would greatly facilitate the inspection work, but we soon learned from experience that we could not depend upon them.

Orange lies among the foothills of the Blue Ridge, and for a large portion of its area is decidedly mountainous. The eastern end, however, flattens out somewhat, and is included in the Wilderness, where the heaviest fighting of the Civil War took place.

In the hope that the volunteers from the University would be able to complete the white schools, the Commissioner of Health charged the Director of Inspections with the immediate duty of inspecting the negro schools—of which there are twenty, scattered at intervals of from five to seven miles throughout a territory the extreme length of which is thirty-eight miles.

With Dr. W. A. Brumfield and Dr. H. A. Lickle, two experts of the Bureau of Rural Sanitation operating under the Rockefeller Hookworm Commission, the Director set up his headquarters in the town of Orange and organized for work.

From the County Superintendent of Schools a list of schools was obtained, with a description of the best routes. From the very start it was found that the railroads could not be used. As the inspections had to be made during school hours, the inspectors therefore must be independent of railroad schedules, and utilize every moment of time between the hours of 9 A.M. and 3 P.M.

A two-seated vehicle, with a pair of stout horses and a driver familiar with the county, was engaged. Into this we placed a set of office scales with measuring rod attachment, a suit case containing sterilizing pan, towels, head mirror, throat, nasal, and ear specula, Snellen's eye-testing cards, containers for hookworm specimens, and a quantity of public health literature. Each doctor was provided with an ordinary stenographer's notebook, lined in pencil for his particular part of the examination. The driver was also furnished with a book, for he was placed in charge of the weighing and measuring, some pupil acting as a recorder for him.

On arriving at the school, the instruments were placed on the stove to boil and a preliminary talk was given to the pupils by the Director, who stated in general the preventive purpose of the investigation and asking coöperation. The Director then placed a chair or bench in the best place in the room to utilize the sunlight for the head mirror, and proceeded to examine the throats, ears, noses, and teeth of the pupils, taking the boys first. Dr. Brumfield took the names and ages of the children and the names of parents or guardians. He then tested their eyes by means of the Snellen's card at twenty feet and their hearing by a low whisper at the same distance. Dr. Lickle, the other assistant, required the boys to remove their coats and loosen their collars so as to get the stethoscope bell over the apices of the lungs and over the heart. He also examined the skin, cervical glands, vaccination marks, and questioned as to diseases

from which the child might have suffered. Data as to the legitimacy of the colored children was also obtained from the teacher, who was usually surprisingly well informed in this particular.

After the boys were examined they were permitted to go out and play while the girls took their turn. It was not practicable to do more than loosen the collars of the girls, but the apex of the lung of each was auscultated. No percussion of the lungs was attempted, and the heart in most instances had to be examined through the clothing. This part of the examination, while it did not prevent detection of the more serious cardiac defects, was far from satisfactory to the investigators.

After the physical examination Dr. Brumfield gave a short talk to the assembled school on the prevalence and dangers of hookworm infection and asking the coöperation of teacher and pupils in making complete the examination by including the test for intestinal parasites. Containers for specimens of the bowel discharge, with place upon them for name and address, were then left for distribution to each pupil and provision made for their delivery on the following day to the nearest express office for shipment to the laboratory of the State Board of Health.

A sketch of the floor space of the schoolroom was also made, showing arrangement of windows, doors, desks, stove, water bucket, and individual cup if used, and the location of the building with relation to the points of the compass. The dimensions of the room were also taken and the window space measured. The water supply and sewerage disposal were carefully examined, and facilities for cleaning and ventilating were inquired about and general directions given if necessary.

The blank recording these facts was designed to cover every conceivable point, so as to be able to picture accurately the Virginia rural school situation to the end that the lines of effort at amelioration might be logically and consistently drawn. In addition to recording these facts, if there were any points of special interest about the school building itself, a photograph of it was taken, including the teacher and pupils.

The difficulties in the way of continuous inspection work being done by volunteer physicians were so great that Dr. W. H. Heck, of the School of Education of the University of Virginia, who was in charge of this portion of the work, asked the State Board of Health to assume charge of the rural white schools likewise. His force took charge only of the high schools. This necessitated an immediate return over practically the same ground recently traversed in the examination of negro schools, but it was accomplished in eight school days without difficulty, twenty-three white schools being included in the itinerary. Neighborhood meetings with stereopticon lectures were held at six points in the county and the parents of many defective children were conferred with as to the best course to pursue in regard to them.

To all children showing hookworm by laboratory findings, a letter apprising them of that fact was sent, free treatment for the condition being sent at the same time.

The results of this investigation have not as yet been completely tabulated, so no generalizations of value can be offered at this time.

A full report is to be presented before the International Congress on School Hygiene at Buffalo, N. Y., in August.

A COMMUNITIES PROGRAM FOR FIGHTING TUBERCULOSIS

MR. J. D. STRAIN, NASHVILLE, TENN.

THE increased cost of living is a subject now occupying the thought and attention of individuals and of the nation. But, as many suppose, the large factors in the increase of the cost of living, with the serious consequences it entails on the American people, are not the tariff nor the trusts, nor the illegal actions of monopolies, although they have a tremendous influence on the increased cost of prices gener-

ally in the United States. The chief cause of the increase in the cost of living is *waste*. The largest item is that of waste from unnecessary disease and death, in which tuberculosis is the principal factor.

The four great wastes of to-day, more lamentable because they are unnecessary, are preventable deaths, preventable sickness, preventable conditions of low physical and mental efficiency, and preventable ignorance—all of which are playing their part in a cruel destruction almost incredible to human minds, and which together operate to bring about an advance in commodity prices by affecting the supply of the necessities of life and restricting supply by taking persons out of productive enterprise, thus making production more expensive. At the same time, while restricting production by the number of persons it has taken out of industry, this extends demand by increasing the consumption of goods. As a rule the victims of tuberculosis are mostly confined to the productive period of life.

Senator Aldrich's statement that waste and inefficiency were causing a loss of three hundred million dollars every year to the United States government made the nation sit up and take notice, and has been the cause of instituting reforms in governmental methods that have already saved scores of millions of dollars. Yet, even if Senator Aldrich's figures of loss to the government by inefficiency could be proved to be true, it would still be only a fraction of the actual annual cost in loss of wages, in maintenance, medical attention, and financial expenses of the persons who die from tuberculosis in the United States every year.

There are in this country every year one million five hundred thousand deaths from preventable diseases, entailing an annual financial loss of three billion dollars, not to mention the suffering and sorrow. Of this number, two hundred thousand die of tuberculosis, with a total loss in life and labor of \$500,000,000.

When the governments, State and general, begin paying some real attention to the prevention of disease, to the conservation of health, there will have been accomplished the longest possible step in national economy.

Ex-President Roosevelt at the conclusion of his White House address on the conservation of our natural resources said: "Finally, let us remember that the conservation of our natural resources, though the greatest problem of today, is yet but a part of another and greater problem to which this nation is not yet awake, but to which it will awake in time, and with which it must hereafter grapple if it is to live—the problem of national efficiency."

This is the keynote of the crusade that is to wipe out the invalidism that we have endured so long. The campaign is of such personal interest to all of us that not one should hesitate to enlist. There are in the United States one million people sick with tuberculosis, of whom one-half are totally incapacitated, while the remainder are one-half incapacitated. While this invalidism exists our national efficiency will be impaired; and since we know that tuberculosis is preventable and in some stages curable, we surely have hopes of finally eliminating the disease entirely. This anti-tuberculosis campaign is no longer a battle for the doctors only, for forty-five per cent of those already engaged in the fight are laymen. Twenty-five years ago when the campaign against tuberculosis in this country was started by Dr. Edward L. Trudeau, even the doctors laughed at the movement. Gradually the medical profession realized the possibilities of an organized fight against tuberculosis, and in 1904 the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis was formed by the American Medical Association. At that time the percentage of laymen in the association was only 12.9, and very few persons were interested in the campaign against this disease. Now, labor unions, women's clubs, fraternal organizations, and State legislatures, numbering fully eight million people, are all allied in the campaign against tuberculosis; and in addition to these, laymen of all classes of society, and in every branch of social and industrial life, are uniting against this one common foe. Every day sees hundreds of new recruits in the war, and every day brings new methods for the fighting of the plague. If the present degree of interest is maintained for five years, everybody in the United States will

have to be informed on the way to prevent and cure tuberculosis and concerning the infectious nature of the disease. This is an incentive that should lead us into the fight.

Tuberculosis has been the problem of the medical profession for centuries, and from the earliest time it has been known as the "most prevalent, most feared, and most fatal of known diseases." It has rightly been called the disease of the masses, for it is found among all classes of people. The poor, because of their meager income, cannot fortify themselves against it; and when once afflicted, they do not have the facilities to overcome it. It ravages the palace as well as the hovel, and many of the world's geniuses have fallen victims to this dread disease. A few who were world-renowned in art, science, and literature and who died of tuberculosis might be mentioned here: John Milton, John Locke, Alexander Pope, Dr. Samuel Johnson, Sir Walter Scott, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Goethe, Robert Louis Stevenson, Sidney Lanier, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Voltaire, John Ruskin, Charles Kingsley, Immanuel Kant, Rousseau, E. P. Poe, and Paul Laurence Dunbar. Among other great men who are reported to have died of tuberculosis may be mentioned Raphael, Von Weber, Chopin, Nevin, Calvin, Cicero, and Cecil Rhodes. This is an awful toll to pay for negligence. But in the early days the people were not prepared to fight it as we are to-day. As far back as the third century B.C. we read of Hippocrates, the most celebrated physician of antiquity, and the father of scientific medicine, describing consumption as the disease which is "the most difficult to treat, and which proves fatal to the greatest number." In the middle ages (1550) the celebrated physician Montano declared consumption to be one of the most dangerously contagious and most easily contracted of diseases. This great fear of the disease led to precaution, and down through the eighteenth century we read of how furniture and bedding of patients who died of consumption were burned, and in Italy and Spain royal decrees isolating the victims and requiring disinfection of the houses and registration of all cases by the physicians.

It was a noble fight that the doctors put up in their efforts to gain control of the disease. But they were greatly handicapped, as they had not determined the cause, nor could they, for without the microscope their search was in vain. But when the microscope was discovered it paved the way for the master mind of Louis Pasteur, the French chemist, to demonstrate to the world the bacterial origin of many diseases. In 1882 Dr. Robert Koch, of Germany, by use of the microscope, found the tubercle bacillus in the spit of his patients suffering with consumption, thus determining the cause of the disease. The cause having been found, the next step was prevention, and the campaign that has been carried on during the last twenty years has been one of education in order to teach the public the simple facts about the prevention of tuberculosis. The accomplishment of this task, however, has been one that called for all the ingenuity and skill that expert knowledge could furnish or specific experience could teach.

The organized crusade now under way against tuberculosis is rapidly uncovering the conditions which constitute its stronghold and, while opening innumerable lines of promising attack, is also making more and more clear the baffling complexity of the work in which we are engaged. We must start with the general proposition that tuberculosis is infectious, that it is preventable, and in the early stages it is curable. It is its preventability which justifies the expenditure of energy now devoted to the campaign and will justify the immensely greater expenditure which will be called for in the immediate future. If we are to prevent, we must necessarily deal with the conditions that cause, and those especially subject to such conditions will form the classes most necessary to reach. Conditions not conducive to good health must be eliminated and laws enacted that will compel the ignorant and indifferent to restrain themselves for the good of all.

It is highly encouraging, however, to hear that the disease is decreasing. When an active crusade is first started in some community, the percentage of cases seems to increase, but this is easily explained by the fact that

it is the activity of the campaign that ferrets out new cases that were hitherto unknown. But sanitarians and insurance statisticians agree that there is less prevalence of consumption now than in years past, due to the energetic educational propaganda carried on in many communities, and the hope is rising that ultimately the white plague will be conquered. The ground gained in the fight has been accomplished by dint of effective organization and persistent publicity. The newspapers of the country have done a most noble work in constantly getting before their millions of readers the truth about tuberculosis, combating the old notion of its strictly hereditary and unpreventable character, and pointing out the dangers of carelessness on the part of sufferers from the disease, showing how the risk can be lessened by the observance of sanitary laws, preaching the doctrines of fresh air and good food, and releasing humanity from the thralldom of fear of an inevitable enemy that could not by any possibility be resisted.

This organized fight against the great white plague is the highest American expression of faith in the possibility of modern medicine and sanitation to conquer this disease that has taken countless numbers of victims in the course of time. It will require a long time to bring the disease under restraint. Some legislation is needed to insure the proper treatment of tuberculosis. There is need in some localities of laws for the segregation of sufferers under certain circumstances, perhaps with State aid for the support of those dependent upon them, and with searching scrutiny of living conditions to lessen the danger of exposing the well to the unhealthful influence of the sick.

What is needed in every State is *a law compelling the registration of all cases of tuberculosis with the health officer*, that will provide dispensary clinics and visiting nurses and special relief, that will provide county sanitariums and open-air schools, and that will require disinfection in all houses where there has been a case of tuberculosis.

Such a law will remove tuberculosis from the range of personal and individual responsibility to that of social

responsibility, and make the health officer the chief factor in the enforcement of that social responsibility. Such a situation has existed for years in regard to a few diseases, such as smallpox, scarlet fever, and other acute contagions. As to these, it has been recognized in law and in practice that they are a menace to the entire community, that the inadequate treatment and adequate protection of the household is not a matter to be determined by the ability of the particular patient to pay therefor, but it is to be determined by the resources of the public treasury and the efficiency of the local health administration. It is recognized that illness of this character is the concern, not of the individual patient nor of the individual household, but of the community as a whole; that equal standards of efficiency of treatment, of medical oversight, of nursing, of isolation, of food, of disinfection and the other safeguards employed in sanitary supervision should be applied to all alike; that none should be too poor to receive such assistance, none sufficiently rich to escape therefrom.

Such a law makes the health officer a most important personage, not only on those rare occasions when a locality is visited by an epidemic of smallpox or other acutely contagious disease, and not only in the particular locality in which that disease may appear, but in every portion of the locality and every day of the year, for tuberculosis is to be found everywhere and at all times. By such a law the health officer is made the chief instrumentality through which social responsibility for its eradication is to be enforced. No other single step will so enlarge the functions, elevate the position, and increase its prestige as the enactment of such a law. The indirect efforts of this legislation upon the position of the public officer are bound to be most important. Without entering upon them in detail at this moment, it seems certain that the imposition of these far-reaching and continuous responsibilities upon the health officer must be followed, first, by a more general recognition of the fact that the health officer must be especially qualified for his post, must be a man of standing, influence, and weight in his profession, and as a citizen; and, secondly,

the imposition of such far-reaching and important duties must of necessity be followed by a corresponding increase in the remuneration attached to the position.

Some may say such a law is a little in advance of the time, but that is not true, for many States are enacting such a law and it is found very effective.

REGISTRATION OF CASES

In order to effectively fight the disease we must know where the cases are, hence the need of registering all cases. We never can hope to control tuberculosis until we can control all the people who are subject to it, for it is a safe supposition that every uncontrolled person who has it is spreading the disease.

The chief responsibility for each case rests on the physician, and he is a traitor to himself and to the noblest of professions if he shirks his duty in the slightest.

The reporting of all cases is a most serious duty, laid not directly upon health officers as such, but upon physicians and upon all citizens to whom the presence of a person having tuberculosis becomes known.

DISPENSARIES

The dispensary has two functions to perform: to treat the patient and, vastly more important, to protect the family both by the means at hand and by accumulating all the information possible upon which to extend our knowledge of the spread of tuberculosis. Both of these objects can be fulfilled by the dispensary in the enforcement of the law. With the public quickly learning to turn to the dispensary for friendly advice and assistance, and with the number of dispensaries increasing to meet the demand for them, there can be no more powerful agent in the entire machinery of the tuberculosis crusade than the dispensary in the enforcement of the law. Developed to its highest efficiency, the dispensary can discover even more new points of infection by an aggressive policy of going out to find the cases and not waiting for the cases to come to the dispensary. From past experience everywhere I think it is safe

to say that fully 75 per cent of the practicing physicians in the country to-day are unable to diagnose incipient tuberculosis, and that a majority do not correctly diagnose even quite advanced cases, and even some do not make a proper diagnosis after death; so it will be a step in advance if we can procure expert physicians to examine patients in dispensaries in each county. If we can have early diagnosis by these expert physicians, these expert diagnosticians, the smaller counties of the State will be greatly benefited, for they are sorely in need of such assistance.

The dispensary then becomes a clearing house through which patients are apportioned to this or that hospital or sanitarium. The number of patients to be cared for at home will be reduced to a minimum, so that the chief and most important aim of the dispensary will be to uncover the new foci of infection and take the proper steps to destroy them.

VISITING NURSE

There is no element in the fight against tuberculosis that will do more with lessening the disease than will the work of the visiting nurse. She is the promoter, the huntsman, the one who beats the game. She it is who keeps the tuberculosis patient on the right track, especially the patient that is treated at home. That the visiting nurse is an important factor in tuberculosis work is true partly because five or ten years ago she was the only factor in the care of advanced cases of tuberculosis, and stood almost alone between tuberculosis patients and the public. In some places she is engaged by individuals or philanthropic organizations; but when the State becomes awakened to the situation she becomes a State or county employee, as in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Illinois. Out of years of experience in these communities it has been further found out that together with the regular hospital or training school experience must go experience in social service. She must know how to gain the confidence of both the sick and their families and then educate them up to doing whatever is asked of them. When the nurse goes into the home of a tuberculosis patient she must make the patient clean

and comfortable and teach some one how to accomplish at least some of the things that will keep the patient so. She must teach them how to properly dispose of the sputum. She must teach the importance of keeping the hands and mouth clean, find what the patient has been eating and how well it has been nourishing him, and perhaps prescribe such additional food as may seem necessary and wise to the physicians. The nurse must make sure the family will not use the eggs for omelets nor the milk for rice puddings. It is important, therefore, that she see to it that the family is provided with proper and sufficient bedding. She must provide a way of getting an abundance of fresh air to the patient without freezing out the remainder of the family. Indeed, her duty to the family is even greater than to the sick one, for it is they who mingle with the world, and who must be taught to live so that they will not be a prey to the disease. The nurse seeks in every particular by close contact with the patient and family to see that the physician's orders, whether he be the family physician or the dispensary doctor, are carried out implicitly.

The important work of ferreting out new cases as she goes about her daily rounds is not one of the least of the nurse's functions. She follows up lost cases—that is, cases that have been to the dispensary for treatment and, when they feel a little better, on their own initiative stop going to the dispensary for treatment. These she persuades to continue the treatment until they are wholly well. While performing these duties she often finds new cases that have never been to a dispensary, and on her persuasion they go and start the treatment. By this scouting work the nurse is soon able to round up all the cases and present them for treatment.

RELIEF

Tuberculosis has been termed a poor man's disease, and it does often gain headway among the poor because they do not have the resources at hand with which to combat the disease. Often many things have to be done to help families out, such as supplying milk, eggs, beds, blankets, and outfits for outdoor sleeping, such as canvas chairs and quilted rest-

ing bags. In the case where the breadwinner is afflicted, rent and provisions have to be provided for the family. Relief is a necessary element, but must be handled judiciously. Any State or county provision for a dispensary or visiting nurse should carry along with it an appropriation for relief, and the distribution of this fund should be left to the visiting nurse, who, because of her close and continued contact with the patient and the family, is the most efficient one in arranging for and prescribing the necessary relief.

HOSPITALS

As an investment in the health of its citizens, not to mention its duty, every State should make adequate hospital provision for those afflicted with tuberculosis. From a fraternal and economic standpoint many fraternal societies, labor unions, and insurance companies have erected tuberculosis sanatoria for their members. The Royal League, the first fraternal order to establish a sanatorium, conducts a hospital for its tuberculosis members at Black Mountain. The Modern Woodmen of America conducts one at Colorado Springs, the Workmen's Circle at Liberty, N. Y., and the Independent Order of Foresters have one at Rainbow Lake, N. Y., and will soon open a second one at San Fernando, Cal. The International Typographical Union has since 1898 conducted a sanatorium at Colorado Springs, and the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of America will soon open a new institution at Rogersville, Tenn. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company is now erecting a sanatorium at Mt. McGregor, N. Y., which will be the first of its kind to be established by an "old line" insurance company. In addition to these, many others could be mentioned.

If such organizations find it profitable, why should not the State? In fact, it is part of the State's official responsibility to provide for and protect the health of its individual citizens. The lines the State can work on are: First, to have a chain of city or county hospitals for the tuberculosis sick; and, second, to provide State hospitals erected by the State, the expense of maintenance to be large-

ly charged back on a per capita basis to the localities from which the patients come. In favor of the first it can be said that county hospitals provide a relief close at hand where the patient will be near his home and can be visited by his friends without much inconvenience. The argument in favor of the second is that in many localities in rural sections the number of cases is so small that an efficient local sanatorium is not likely to be established. All the large cities in any State should be encouraged to establish their own sanatoria. This does not mitigate against the State sanatorium in the least, for in many instances these cities will send their proportion of cases to the State hospitals anyway, because in congested districts there are naturally more cases in proportion to the rural sections. However, the county unit appears to me the most suitable, because it will arouse greater local interest, and it is doubtful if the State would distribute its hospitals sufficiently widely as to be readily accessible to the patients, their friends, and their relatives. It will require the continued aroused local interest in any instance to assure success of the whole plan, therefore I personally would favor local county tuberculosis hospitals.

However, I deem it a wise safeguard that the State keep in the hands of the Health Department the approval of sites for such hospitals and the approval of the plans, and should exercise an effective and frequent inspection of all such local hospitals. Under the most favorable circumstances it will be a matter of great difficulty to secure reasonably uniform and reasonably efficient management of a series of such local institutions. I believe, however, that it can be accomplished by a strong State supervision without impairing local control.

During the past year four thousand additional beds have been provided for tuberculosis patients in twenty-nine States. This makes a total of thirty thousand beds, but only about one for every ten indigent tuberculosis patients in the country.

While we are thinking of the patients at large, do not forget another and very important source of infection—

namely, our prisons. There are in the State, Federal, and local prisons and jails of the United States twelve thousand tuberculosis prisoners, with less than twenty-five special institutions and hardly eight hundred beds for their treatment.

From several investigations that have been made, it is estimated that on an average about fifteen per cent of the prison population of the country is afflicted with tuberculosis. On this basis, out of the eighty thousand prisoners housed in penal institutions of continental United States at any given time, not less than twelve thousand are infected with this disease. Some of the prisons show such shocking conditions with reference to tuberculosis that many wardens admit that these places of detention are death traps.

Only twenty-one prisons in fifteen States have provided special places for the treatment of the tuberculosis prisoners. These institutions can accommodate, however, only eight hundred patients. In three-fourths of the major prisons and in practically all the jails of the country the tuberculosis prisoner is allowed freely to infect his fellow prisoners, very few restrictions being placed upon his habits. When the congregate mode of prison life is considered, the danger of infection becomes greater than in the general population. New York and Massachusetts are the only States where any systematic attempt has been made to transfer all tuberculosis prisoners to one central institution.

The fact that one hundred thousand prisoners are discharged from jails and prisons of the country annually, and that from ten to fifteen per cent of them have tuberculosis, makes the problem of providing special places for their treatment while they are necessarily confined a very serious one.

Only when we have sufficient hospital facilities in our State, both for the population at large and those confined in institutions, to isolate all cases will the other agencies I have mentioned be successful in entirely eradicating the disease.

OPEN-AIR SCHOOLS

The greatest industry in any community is not, as we so often hear mentioned, trade or transportation, but public education. The greatest sedentary class is not made up of the people engaged in the so-called professional occupations, but of the teachers and children engaged in teaching and being taught in the public schools. Everywhere the largest, as well as the oldest, organized industry is education, and everywhere the greatest sedentary class is made up of our school children. It is only within the last few years that schoolmen have begun to ask what effect these long years of sedentary indoor life have on the physical welfare of our school children; but now that they are awake to the significance of the problem, they are facing it squarely and acting energetically. They have come to a startled realization that compulsory education, under modern conditions, too often spells compulsory disease. It is a tardy realization of the significance of this feature of compulsion that has brought us to see that when the State compels every child to attend school, it incurs the obligation of furnishing an education fitted to the needs of every child. This brought the schoolmen face to face with the problem of what to do for the child who was in poor physical health and at the same time compelled to attend school. The solution was found in the open-air school, in which the ailing child could continue his education and at the same time regain his health.

The result of the open-air class work has been to restore most of the children to normal health and efficiency. One of these open-air schools or classes should be established for each twenty-five thousand population, especially in cities.

DISINFECTION

For a long time tuberculosis was held to be hereditary, but we now know that the reason whole families were wiped out with this dread disease was the lack of disinfection of the house where a case of tuberculosis had been. Those remaining in such a house or moving in after it had been vacated, without a thorough disinfection having been made,

soon developed the disease. Thorough disinfection of any room or house occupied by a tuberculosis patient is the only safeguard that a community can use to stop the spread of the disease. Tuberculosis is an extremely communicable disease, and the germs often remain for months quite active in a room or house occupied by a consumptive; therefore the law of each community should be the disinfection of the house by the local board of health after each case of consumption.

Finally, in the enforcement of the law each agency working for the elimination of tuberculosis must realize that it is only one part of the machine, and if successful work is to be done it must work in harmony with the other agencies. There is the greatest need of "teamwork," which is always better than individual effort. The health department in every community should have the real authority to enforce the law; the dispensary, the physician, the visiting nurse, and the school-teacher have information upon which the health department acts. Each agency is to a large extent dependent on the others, so that active and cordial coöperation is essential to success. Above all, the work of education must proceed unremittingly to bring each person, young or old, to realize the urgent need of care in implicit obedience to certain sanitary laws, and to carry knowledge of the true nature of the disease to everybody.

CONTROL OF SOCIAL DISEASES

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THAT I may not be misunderstood by what I shall say later, I should like at the outset to define my position and my convictions with regard to the so-called social evil. I do not advocate nor recommend segregation, reglementation, inspection, medical or otherwise, official recognition, or tolerance as a remedy for the social evil or the diseases dependent thereon. I believe in one standard of morality

for men and women alike. I do not believe in a standard of morals, nor in the conventionalities of a society that permits, condones, and winks at the habits of the male prostitute, who, after all, is responsible for and supports the evil, and receives him without censure or question within the sacred folds of Church and society, and at the same time forever condemns and ostracises the female, who, often in her weakness and faith in man, is misled and misguided by him who should be her friend and protector. I believe in stringent laws and legislation and the enforcement thereof against the white slave traffic. I believe in an earnest, honest, and aggressive campaign of education in the schools and in the homes, teaching the physiology of sex and sex hygiene, discarding absolutely the cloak of prudery, false modesty, mystery, and secrecy regarding these vital questions.

Let the boys and men know that every time they enter a house of prostitution they are coquetting with a ghastly probability; that they may wreck and ruin their own health, and that, if married, or prospective husbands and fathers, they may bring dire disaster upon those who are dearest to them—their wives and children. Let them know that every visit they pay to a brothel is at the expense of their mentality; is paid to a house over the door of which should be written, "*Incurable insanity may be contracted here.*" I believe that the full facts and horrors of these things should be far-flung, that this "conspiracy of silence" to which their growth is largely due should cease. I agree fully with Jane Addams that our duty is absolutely clear and simple; that it is high time to turn on the light, and that an enlightened public and a growing conscience should consider and know this ancient evil in all its hideous manifestations and should recognize in them the most malignant diseases from which humanity suffers, scattering misery, incurable invalidism, and death broadcast among the guilty and the innocent alike.

The people should be educated to know and feel that of all the vices that afflict society this is unquestionably the worst, and to longer tolerate it is a moral affront and an

utter impossibility. I believe in and advocate the enactment and enforcement of adequate laws suppressing and abolishing all houses of ill fame and declaring all prostitutes public nuisances and a menace to the public health and safety—laws that will put out of commission this moral leprosy that is eating into the very vitals of the nation.

I believe in, and am in full accord and sympathy with, the good work now being done by the Church and ministry, by social workers and sociological societies, and by all the other good people who have the present and future welfare of the human race at heart. I believe that all of this work is potential for great and everlasting good, and I glory in and congratulate the good women who have had and are having the courage to publicly take up this great work. I believe that in time, through the instrumentalities of the agencies mentioned, this "consummation devoutly to be wished" will be attained, and I sincerely trust that it will be at no very distant day.

In the meantime, pending the consummation of these ends, I believe it is the duty of the medical profession, and particularly of the health officer, to throw his energies, his skill, and his ability into the breach, and do everything that lies in his power for the conservation of the health and lives of the people whenever and wherever they are in jeopardy, from any cause or source whatsoever. I believe it is the duty of the health officer and the physician to look with fearless eyes the situation squarely in the face. He must recognize the fact that the people, men, women, and children, are being infected day by day with the deadliest of diseases, diseases that are filling our asylums with the insane, our public institutions with the blind, deaf, and crippled, our hospitals with the sick, our homes with women condemned to lifelong invalidism, and with feeble-minded children. These diseases are filling our jails and penitentiaries with criminals and our cemeteries with the prematurely dead.

It is high time, I say, that, while waiting for the moral correction and abolition of this great evil, we should do what we can for the physical, that we should hear and

heed the groans and agony of the afflicted, and make, at least, an honest endeavor to lift this burden of disease from suffering humanity. I reiterate that I do not offer regimentation, segregation, and inspection as a remedy for the social evil; but I do recognize that the twin evils of syphilis and gonorrhea stand forth to-day as the archenemy of mankind, and I do realize and believe it to be as much my duty as a health conservator to attack this enemy of my people as it is to attack any other class of diseases that are destroying those who have a right to and are looking to me for protection. I believe it is just as plainly the duty of the Health Department to ferret out, quarantine, and treat these diseases as it is to look for smallpox, leprosy, or plague; for we are all agreed that if social diseases could be eliminated, one-half of the misery and suffering of humanity would go with them.

So strenuously has this subject been tabooed by society in the past that the mere mention of prostitution and venereal diseases has been quite enough to stigmatize the speaker with immodesty. Thanks to a broader, more liberal, and saner education of the people, we can now approach and discuss these vital questions without shocking the conventionalities or putting to flight the modesty of our audience. Owing to this reticence and secrecy on the part of the public health workers and speakers, only a very small minority of the people realize to what extent the human family is suffering from these diseases. There has been, and is, a woeful lack of knowledge, particularly among young men and women, concerning sex and sexual physiology, pathology, and hygiene. The first field in this great work is education. Educate the young, not only as to disease conditions, but as to matters of sexual hygiene. Let the fathers and the mothers get the necessary information, if they do not already know it, and impart it and impress it upon the children; the fathers upon the boys and the mothers upon the girls. Do not let any feelings of prudery or false modesty interfere with this imperative duty. The children will respect and profit by your information and instruction. They will get this information anyway. If you fail to give

it to them, they will get it from other sources under very different circumstances, perhaps when it is too late. Take the boys and girls into your confidence. Teach them matters of sex hygiene. Do not make a mystery of these vital things. They have a right to know. Then teach them the horrors of the great red plague.

Now is the auspicious time, when the tide is strong in the direction of disseminating knowledge along other branches of medicine and public health work, to bring home to the family and people generally these truths. However great and profitable in the saving of life and the minimizing of suffering the work against other communicable diseases has been and will be, a still greater benefit may be conferred upon humanity by a well-directed, earnest crusade against the twin evils, the red plague of syphilis and gonorrhea, which are dragging thousands upon thousands through a miserable existence of disease and shame.

It is estimated that 50 per cent of the insanity of the world is due to syphilis. It is held by high authorities that paresis, general paralysis, softening of the brain, always ending in insanity, unless death ensues too quickly, are always due to this cause. This condition is simply one of the terminal stages of the disease. There were over 200,000 insane persons in the insane asylums of the United States last year, 100,000 of them due to these diseases. This number exceeds the combined enlisted strength of the United States Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. It exceeds the number of students in all of our colleges and universities combined. The insane population of our country is increasing at the rate of over 6,000 each year. There are nearly 50,000 people committed to insane asylums each year in this country. It costs over \$40,000,000 a year to care for them. If you add to this stupendous sum the economic loss by reason of the cases, you will find that insanity costs the nation \$175,000,000 a year, one-half of which is directly due to the social evil on account of syphilitic insanity alone. The economic loss to the government and public on account of insanity is greater than the total expense of the public school system of the country.

Ninety-five per cent of the blindness of children is due to social diseases, particularly of gonorrheal ophthalmia neonatorum.

It is believed, since we are better able to diagnose old cases by the Wasserman and other tests, that all cases of locomotor ataxia and of apoplexy occurring in subjects under fifty years of age are due to syphilis.

It is estimated that 250,000 cases of venereal diseases occur in New York each year. A very large percentage of the diseases of the eye, ear, nose, and throat are due to these diseases.

Many thousands of cases of diseases of the viscera, the causes of which, though suspected, were not definitely known until the Wasserman test came into practice, are now known to be of syphilitic origin. A large percentage of the diseases of the cardio-vascular system, 75 per cent of certain forms of diseases of the heart, diseases of the arteries, and aneurisms are due to syphilis.

A large percentage of tuberculosis is due either to inherited or acquired syphilis, which, by breaking down the resisting force of the individual, thereby makes him more susceptible to the ravages of the tubercle bacillus. It can now be shown that a great many of the cases of bone and joint diseases are due to this cause.

A large percentage of cases of cirrhosis of the liver, certain types of neurasthenia, and brain diseases generally are due to syphilis.

Among the diseases peculiar to women, hospital and other statistics show that about 60 per cent of all of the cases treated in the various hospitals are due to venereal diseases; 80 per cent of all women who die from inflammatory pelvic diseases are victims of these diseases.

About 60 per cent of all operations performed upon women for pelvic diseases are due to social diseases, almost all of them ignorantly and innocently contracted by the women from their husbands.

It is conservatively estimated that 80 per cent of all men are victims to these diseases at some time during their career. Any practicing physician will tell you that

in investigating and formulating a history of cases coming to him for treatment, it is exceedingly rare to find a man who has not been infected.

Seventy-five per cent of childless marriages are due to this cause, contracted innocently and unsuspectingly.

Eighty-five per cent of children born with syphilis and gonorrhea are either dead at birth, die very soon after birth, or are feeble-minded, blind, or crippled for life.

There are 35,000 girls drawn from New York each year to recruit the ranks in immoral resorts. It is believed by authorities and experts that *every* woman leading this life becomes infected sooner or later, usually very soon.

About 140,000 sick days were lost to the United States Navy last year on account of these diseases among the sailors; of the total enlistment for 1911, there were about 9,000 cases of this kind.

The cost of venereal diseases to the British Army each year is estimated at \$300,000,000, and there are 60,000 admissions to the hospitals each year from this cause.

In the Geneva Training School, at Geneva, Ill., at the State Reformatory for Women, out of a total commitment each year of over two hundred, 60 per cent of them are infected with these diseases at the time of their admission.

One-seventh of the total fighting strength of the army and navy is incapacitated for duty for a greater or less time each year by these diseases.

These figures will show you how relentlessly this moral leprosy, this social cancer, is vitiating the manhood and womanhood of our country. These diseases have scourged humanity since history began, and they are preventable.

Every member of the social organism is vitally interested, whether he wants to be or not. You may be more vitally interested than you think.

Now, what are we going to do about it? The lives and health of men, women, and children hang in the balance. The dread weight and burden of these diseases has fallen pitilessly upon us for ages. No private, foolish, or selfish purpose must longer divert us from our duty.

The Health Department of Norfolk is making an honest effort to relieve and mitigate these conditions. While waiting for the other agencies, already mentioned, to relieve the situation as far as the so-called social evil is concerned, we are facing and fighting the results of the evil from a disease-producing point of view as health officers and sanitarians.

The Norfolk Health Department, so far as I know, is the pioneer in this country in making a persistent and systematic effort to control venereal diseases. I mean by this that we are the pioneers in making at least the effort to control these diseases—not in a perfunctory, half-hearted, timid, or apologetic way, but we are making a systematic, aggressive warfare and an earnest effort to control venereal diseases along the same lines that we fight smallpox, diphtheria, and other infectious and contagious diseases, and for identically the same reason—namely, the protection of the health and lives of the people.

In order to do this we have formulated certain rules and regulations governing this work, which rules carry penalties for violations, and we enforce them.

In the first place, we require registration, together with a full and complete description of the inmate—age, color, weight, married or single, how long the party has led her present life, correct name when we can get it, and the name and address of nearest relative, etc. All of this information is on file in the Health Department.

We require the “landlady” to report within twenty-four hours the arrival or departure of any inmate, together with the description and history mentioned above, on printed blanks furnished her.

No new arrival is permitted, under penalty, to ply her “vocation” until she has been visited by a medical inspector from the department. We have four qualified physicians and one police officer assigned to this work. These physicians and officer regularly inspect each inmate in the city every fourteen days. Upon receiving a report of a new arrival in any of these houses the examining physicians and police officer visit the party. These officers investigate the

history of the girl, and an attempt is made to induce her to return home, if she has recently left home or can go back. Failing in this, an attempt is made to induce her to make an effort to get employment in some other direction. This is left to the tact and judgment of the officers. If nothing can be done along these lines (and we have reclaimed many), a painstaking, thorough, and scientific examination is made, physical and mental. We frequently find these girls far deficient mentally, quite a number being of a pronounced moron* type. If we find the girl deficient mentally, or under the age of sixteen, and we fail to get her to return to her home, we then put her in an institution. If the person has an infectious or contagious disease of any kind—tuberculosis, communicable skin, eye, venereal, or other disease—we do not permit her to engage in the “traffic” for which she is there. Examinations and inspections along these lines are made not only of the new arrivals, but of all women of this class, every fourteen days. If they are diseased, we send them to the hospitals, or quarantine and treat them until they are pronounced cured. That focus of infection is immediately broken up. Occasionally we find them incorrigible and unruly, addicted to whisky and drugs. We then confine them in the city jail hospital and put them under treatment not only for the disease but for the drug and liquor habit also, but only those cases that we cannot handle through the other channels mentioned.

We hold the “landlady” jointly responsible with the inmates for all infractions of the rules and regulations. If they break quarantine, fail or refuse to abide strictly by the rules, we arrest and punish them, otherwise we treat them as kindly and considerately as we do other people. Reports are made daily to health department headquarters of every infected case, together with a complete history and disposition of the case, and the patronizing public is warned of the existence of the infection, by a method which we

*A moron is a feeble-minded person, of whatever physical age, having a mental age of between eight and twelve. (See fuller definition in footnote to “The Care and Training of the Feeble-Minded,” by Alexander Johnson.)

have worked out in the department. While it is not ideal and perfect, it serves the purpose fairly well. When we have a complaint made to the department, either by an infected person or his physician, we immediately send one of the examining physicians and an officer and investigate the complaint fully and treat the case according to developments.

Now under this system of medical inspection and examination we have detected, since the work began, about a year and a half ago, over six hundred cases of syphilis, gonorrhea, and other venereal diseases, and several hundred cases of other forms of communicable diseases. These foci of infection would certainly have been responsible for many thousands of cases. Many of them would have found their way into the homes, carrying diseases, chronic invalidism, and often death to innocent women and children. If the transgressor were the only sufferer, perhaps we could afford to pass the matter by; but so often his suffering is the least, and the innocent women and children, even to the second and third generation, have to bear the burden of his sin.

Now some observers say that they are opposed to any system of reglementation or inspection because:

1. We do not reach or diagnose all the cases.
2. It increases immorality by throwing around these people the safeguard of inspection.
3. It increases prostitution, because the patronage is greater on account of the inspection.

Now, I am going to answer these objections frankly, honestly, and sincerely as to conditions in Norfolk as a result of the work.

The first objection, that we do not reach nor diagnose all of the cases, has no weight as an argument at all, and is hardly worth notice. We do not diagnose nor get rid of all of the cases of any infectious or contagious disease, but every one that we do destroy is that much good done.

The second objection, that inspection increases immorality, is not in my opinion true, because the people who patronize these places are not to be deterred by fear of

infection. They will, and do, take the chance; but the answer to this will be covered by the reply to the third objection, that it increases prostitution. This certainly has not been true in Norfolk. On the contrary, it has reduced the business nearly 50 per cent, as the official figures of the department will show. When we first put in our registration we had registered in Norfolk over 700 of these women. This number has steadily and persistently decreased month by month, until, at the new complete reregistration in February, we had less than 400. Why? Because this class of people do not like to be under the official noses of any department, they do not like to be held responsible. They do not like the rigid supervision and demands of the health department, and they go where they can ply their trade without molestation or supervision. That has been our experience in Norfolk. Nor do they leave these houses and practice prostitution clandestinely. We follow them up very closely. They usually leave the city.

We frequently, almost daily, get a report from a "landlady" that she has a new arrival. She tells her what the Health Department's requirements are, and when our inspector goes there, he is told that the party had returned from whence she came, saying that if she had to go through all the requirements of the Health Department she would not stay in Norfolk.

Now, it is my opinion that, since this is true in Norfolk, the same would hold good elsewhere. It therefore reduces prostitution—at least it has done so in Norfolk.

We have reduced the number of prostitutes nearly 50 per cent, and we have reduced the average number of infections from these diseases 80 per cent, as I am prepared to show by data and statistics on file in my office and at the United States Navy reservations at Norfolk.

At the training and recruiting stations of the United States Navy at Norfolk there are on an average about 3,000 men, including marines. The medical department at these stations keeps in close touch with these men in every way. They are granted shore leave from time to time, and they

all come to Norfolk. Before this work began they had an average of about 200 cases of venereal infections at all times; their average now is less than 10. These are the official figures of the medical staff at these stations and are accurate and reliable. I report daily to the stations every case of infection that we find, giving name, address, and character of disease. This is posted on the bulletin at the station and the men are warned not to go there. The navy medical men in turn give me the names of their infected men and they do not allow them to come ashore and spread the infection. So the work cuts both ways.

Now, I am assuming, inasmuch as we cannot get accurate data from citizens generally, that if the men from the navy and marine service are not being infected as they were formerly, and the infection comes from the same source, it is safe to assume that the balance of the patronizing public is being protected at the same rate. Besides, the practicing physicians assure me that they treat less than half as many cases as they did before we put into operation this work. Another thing that we have observed very strikingly is that nearly all of the infection that we get now (about 80 per cent) is among the new arrivals coming from cities where there is no inspection or supervision.

While the warfare in the past against prostitution has been futile, it is impossible to conceive of a greater blessing or boon to humanity than its suppression and elimination. The public—men, women, and children, and children yet unborn—should and ought to be protected. Against the great red plague of venereal diseases there is no natural immunity—all are susceptible if exposed. While I am heart and soul in full accord with any and all movements to suppress and eliminate prostitution and the social evil and the diseases consequent thereto, I do maintain that the system of inspection and treatment as exercised at Norfolk is potential for great good in the detection and elimination of these diseases. It has not increased either prostitution or immorality. On the contrary, by a rigid system of surveillance, it has decreased both and at the same time reduced in our community venereal diseases at least

80 per cent. The system as practiced in Norfolk does not encourage prostitution, nor throw around a patronizing public any feeling or sense of false security, inasmuch as we make no attempt whatever to guarantee to the public the absence of infection in the segregated district as a result of our inspection. On the contrary, we do everything that we can to discourage any such feeling of safety, and constantly preach the great danger and the impossibility in many instances of detecting these foci of infection. We guarantee the public nothing but trouble if they will persist in these practices. Pending the final elimination of the social evil, we simply try, as conservators of the public health, to locate, quarantine, treat, and put out of commission these diseases exactly in the same manner and for identically the same reasons that we go after smallpox or any other infectious diseases that are a constant danger and menace to the lives and health of the people whom it is our duty to protect.

THE SOUTH'S GREATEST PUBLIC HEALTH NEED

CRESSY L. WILBUR, M.D., CHIEF STATISTICIAN, BUREAU OF THE
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IN the letter requesting me to speak at this Conference Secretary McCulloch said: "Our President and Executive Committee desire to have you address the Conference on Public Health. Your subject will be 'The South's Greatest Public Health Need.' We mean by this, uniform laws on vital statistics."

While, therefore, I did not choose the title, I most heartily concur in the belief that reliable vital statistics are to-day the most important public health need of the South; and it is most gratifying to find that the necessity of such data is coming into general recognition among public health and other social workers in the Southland as well as throughout the country generally.

Vital statistics have well been called the "bookkeeping of humanity." The records of births and deaths, interpreted in the light of progressive sanitary science, are not dry figures, dead and dusty mementoes of the past; but are living facts pregnant with a message of helpfulness and life-saving for the men, women, and children of the present and future. They teach us where untimely deaths occur and where, by the application of hygienic knowledge now in our possession, the occurrence of many such deaths may be prevented. They lead not only to the reduction of mortality, but also, through the avoidance of the crippling and impairment of vitality due to preventable sickness, to a sounder, healthier, and happier race. The whole work of sanitation is closely linked to, and is absolutely dependent upon, reliable vital statistics; and the first duty of a modern, progressive public health service, whether of the nation, State, or city, is to see that proper provision is made for the effective registration of vital statistics and that the laws for this purpose are fully executed.

I do not think that any extended argument is necessary in regard to the great sanitary and sociological importance of vital statistics. If reasons for the passage of such laws are necessary, and it may be well to have them ready for use in advocating such laws in the various State legislatures, I may refer you to certain pamphlets that will supply ample evidence for the necessity of such legislation:

"Why Should Births and Deaths Be Registered?" Published by the American Medical Association and contains the Model Bill in its latest form.

"Birth Registration—An Aid in Protecting the Lives and Rights of Children." Monograph No. 1 of the Children's Bureau. Also contains the Model Bill.

"Legal Importance of Registration of Births and Deaths." Bureau of the Census.

"Why Vital Statistics Are to Be Registered in Virginia." Virginia Health Bulletin, April, 1912.

"Need for Better Vital Statistics" and "Birth and Death Bookkeeping." Two excellent pamphlets published by the Association of Life Insurance Presidents.

"The Influence of Vital Statistics on Longevity." By Dr. Watson S. Rankin, Secretary North Carolina State Board of Health.

I may refer to some of the statements that have been so cogently marshaled in these publications. I shall be brief:

Why register deaths? That complete and accurate information as to all deaths of human beings may help to eliminate preventable causes of death and lengthen human life; that public and private health agencies may operate intelligently; that epidemic diseases may be detected promptly; that scientific knowledge of disease prevention may be applied intelligently at the time and place where most needed; that the success or failure of all measures attempted in the prevention of disease may be accurately determined; that cities and rural districts alike may learn their own health conditions in comparison with those of other communities and thus understand whether they are receiving a fair measure of sanitary protection; that home-seekers and immigrants may be guided in the selection of safe and healthful homes by accurate information rather than by misstatements made by interested persons; and that correct legal records may be available for the settlement of estates, adjustment of titles, and for the many purposes in which such official records, rather than the memory of perhaps interested witnesses, would be desirable.

Why register births? That the facts of date of birth and parentage may become a matter of official record, useful for purposes of identification and for the numerous and increasing legal uses of such registration; that laws regulating school age and age of employment may become enforceable through available evidence of age; that evidence of age in prosecutions for criminal offenses relating to the age of consent may be forthcoming; that the nature and amount of the natural increase of our population may be known; that reliable data on infantile mortality may be afforded, so that the causes of deaths of infants may be studied properly and many lives of infants be saved; that timely aid be given to infants and to mothers, and that infanticide and mistreatment of infants be prevented.

These brief categories, which I have not attempted to make exhaustive, show how readily the claims of registration must prevail if people can be made to understand its importance. Why is it that we do not have complete and thoroughly effective registration of vital statistics to-day throughout the United States, as have all other civilized countries? Why is it necessary to agitate this question and to beg legislatures to pass adequate laws, then to go through a trying and difficult period of securing effective enforcement? And why has the difficulty of registration been especially great in the South, so that up to a very recent date

that section of the country, except for a few cities, has been practically without representation in the national vital statistics? These questions are difficult to answer, but I believe that we are at the dawn of a more hopeful period, and that within a few years the South will show great progress in this respect.

The registration of vital statistics in the United States is dependent upon the action of the individual States in passing the necessary legislation for this purpose and securing its enforcement. It would be a very simple matter, comparatively, were it possible for Congress to enact a national registration law, as other countries have done, to obtain effective registration for the entire country.

The registration area for deaths was first established by the Tenth Census (1880), for which year it included



only two States, Massachusetts and New Jersey, with certain cities in other States making up an aggregate population of about 8,500,000, or slightly over one-sixth (17 per cent) of the total population of the country. It is evident that this population was too small and not properly distributed geographically for the figures derived therefrom satisfactorily to represent the United States as a whole.

At the Eleventh Census (1890) the number of registration States considerably increased, the other New England States (except Maine) and New York being added to the original two. The aggregate population of the registration area was nearly one-third (31.4 per cent) of the total population of the country, but it was all concentrated, except the registration cities in nonregistration States, in the extreme northeastern portion of the country, as illustrated in the diagram below.



For the Twelfth Census (1900) Maine was added and, for the first time, a State (Michigan) outside of the contiguous registration territory of the Northeast. For the calendar year 1900, which marked the beginning of the series of annual compilations of mortality statistics by the Bureau of the Census, Indiana was also added, making, with the cities in nonregistration States, a total population of over 30,750,000, or more than two-fifths (40.5 per cent) of the entire population of the United States, included in the registration area. Thus far, however, no Southern State was included, and the South was entirely without representation except for the cities in which registration was conducted under local ordinances.

Beginning with the decade 1901 to 1910, the extension of the registration area was greatly facilitated by the establishment of the Bureau of the Census upon a permanent basis. This enabled effective coöperation to be undertaken with the State authorities and led to the drafting of model registration bills, the adoption of uniform or standard certificates of births and deaths, and the active support of many organizations, such as the American Public Health Association, the American Medical Association, and others. For the first time it was possible to exercise a general directive influence upon legislation and to procure the en-

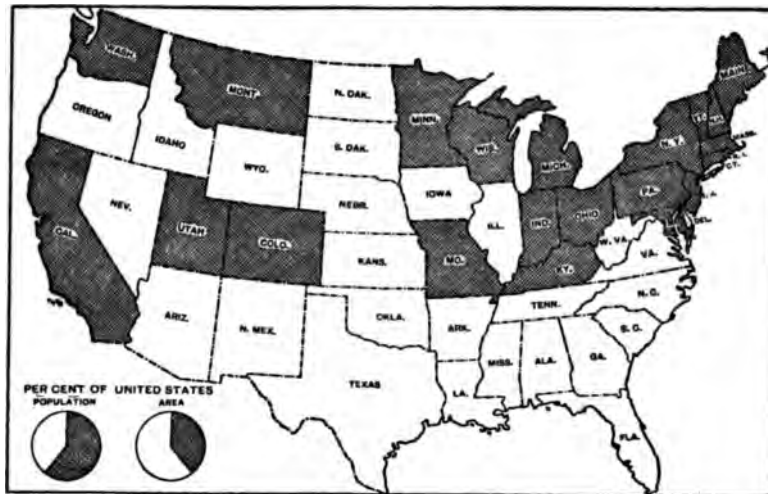


actment of laws of a generally uniform character such as should, with adequate support, enable the States in which they were passed to become eligible for admission to the area of effective registration. As a result of such efforts the registration area rapidly increased, until at the present time it includes nearly two-thirds (63.1 per cent) of the total population of the United States.

The first Southern State to be included was Maryland, admitted for the year 1906. Then followed the North Carolina municipalities of 1,000 population and over in 1910. The North Carolina law aimed to apply the methods of

strict registration of deaths, with requirement of burial permits, compensation of local registrars, and prompt monthly returns to the office of the State Registrar, as provided in the Model Law, *first*, to the towns of 1,000 population and over, and subsequently, if the act proved a success, to the remainder of the State. The results of registration in these municipalities proved to be of great sanitary value, as practically applied by Doctor Rankin, Secretary of the State Board of Health and State Registrar of Vital Statistics, and the law was extended to municipalities of 500 population, and later, during the present year, a complete

1911



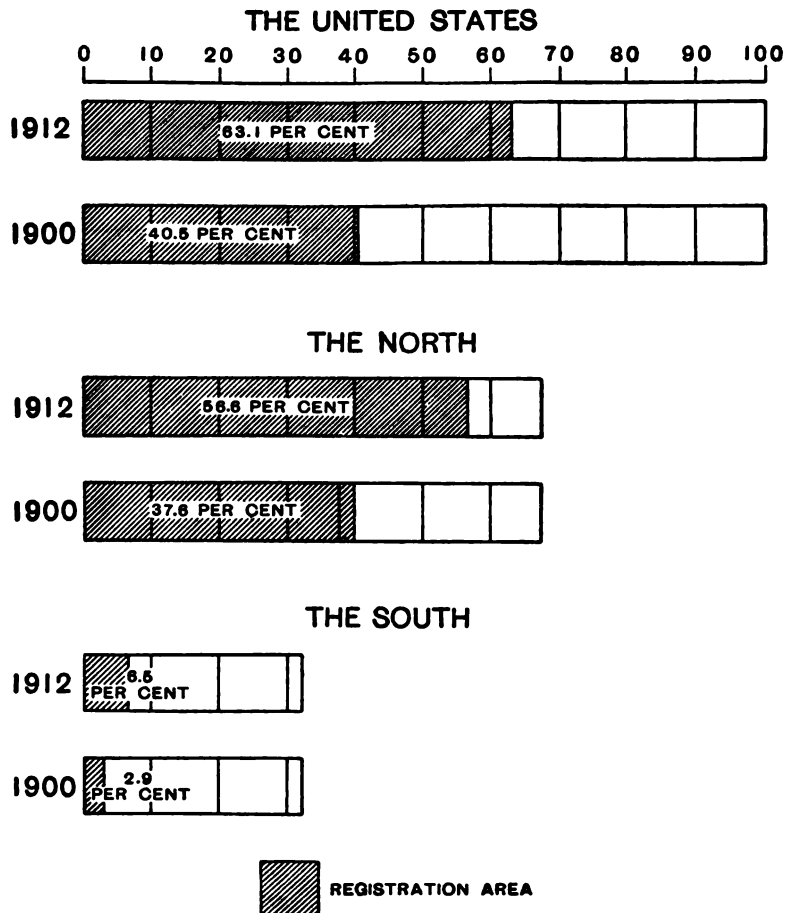
Model Law covering the registration of both births and deaths for the entire State has been passed. The first Southern State to adopt the Model Law as a whole was Kentucky in 1910, and that State was admitted to the registration area for the first year of its operation (1911).

INADEQUATE REPRESENTATION OF THE SOUTH IN THE REGISTRATION AREA

Even with the recent additions to the registration area, the South is far from having adequate representation in the national vital statistics. For the year 1911, which year

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may be taken as showing the conditions for the year 1912, since no changes of importance occurred last year relating to territory included, nearly nine-tenths (89.7 per cent) of the population represented was in the North, and only one-tenth (10.3 per cent) in the South. Some relative increase



is shown since 1900, for which year the figures were 93 per cent and 7 per cent, respectively. In this comparison the South may be taken to include all that part of the country south of Mason and Dixon's line, the Ohio River, the southern border of Missouri, and the parallel of latitude (37° N.) separating Kansas, Colorado, and Utah from Oklahoma,

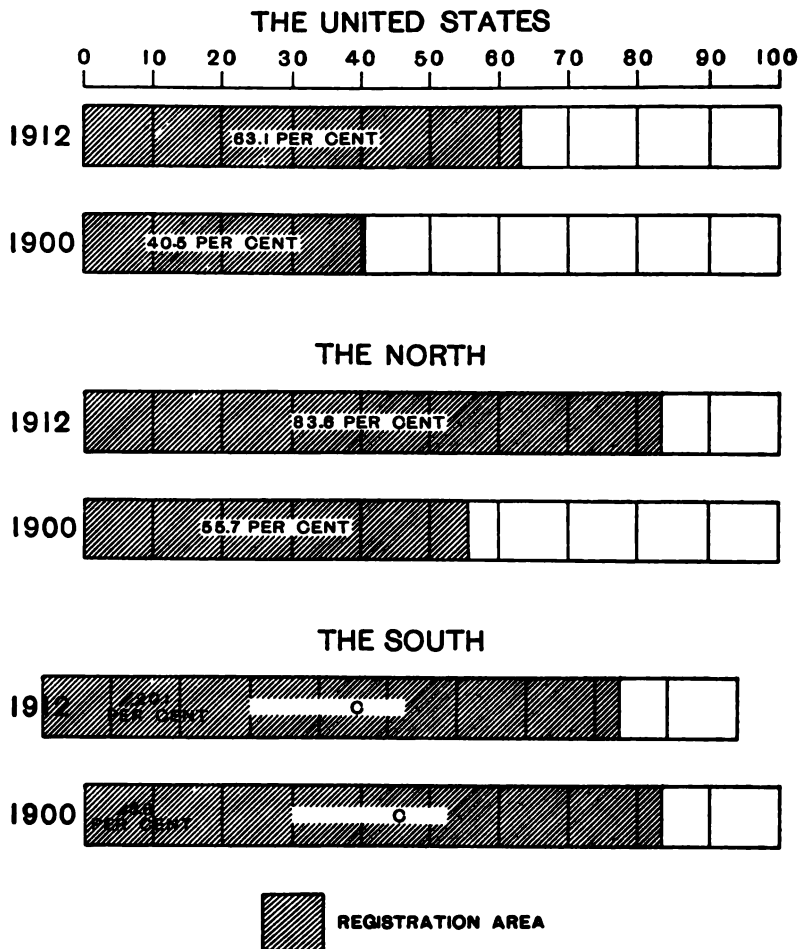
New Mexico, and Arizona. Delaware, as yet a nonregistration State, is left with the North, so that the South, according to this division, would consist of seventeen States and the District of Columbia, with an aggregate population of nearly one-third (32.3 per cent) of the total population of the country. Hence the proportion of the registration population supplied by the South should be 32.3 per cent, and not 10.3 per cent as at present.

The exact condition of the country as a whole with respect to the effective registration of mortality statistics and its progress since 1900, as well as the contribution of each section of the country to the registration area, may be seen in the diagram showing the percentage of the registration area for deaths to the total population of the United States in 1900 and 1912. The registration area increased from 40.5 per cent in 1900 to 63.1 per cent in 1912, but we have yet to bring in over one-third of the total population of the United States (36.9 per cent). In round numbers this means an addition of about thirty-seven millions of population, since the United States is, approximately, a hundred-million country.

Of the 63.1 per cent of the total population of the country embraced in the registration area for deaths in 1912, the North furnished 56.6 per cent and the South furnished 6.5 per cent. The difference that must be made up from each section consists of 11.1 per cent from the North and 25.8 per cent from the South. As before, these per cents may be read, in round numbers, as millions of people on the basis of approximately 100,000,000 people in the total population of the United States, and the magnitude of the task of providing effective registration is thus apparent. Evidently more than twice as much work must be done in the South as in the North before we shall have complete and effective registration of deaths for the country as a whole.

Another method of comparison brings out even more strikingly the relative magnitude of the task before the people of the South. The second diagram shows the proportion of population represented by effective registration of

deaths to the total population of each section, not to the total population of the United States as in the preceding diagram. As before the per cent for the country increased from 40.5 in 1900, to 63.1 in 1912. In the North the per cent increased from 55.7 to 83.6, and in the South it rose



from 8.8 to 20.1. In other words, over four-fifths of the task has been accomplished in the North, while in the South nearly four-fifths remains to be done. During the past twelve years the percentage of registration territory in

the South has more than doubled (128.4 per cent), while that in the North has increased about one-half (50.1 per cent).

The figures showing the magnitude of the task before the people of the South and the large proportion of work yet to be done are not to be interpreted as discouraging, but only as pointing out the need of careful planning and of systematic effort. There has never been a time when public interest in the importance of vital statistics, as the indispensable agent of sanitary, social, and commercial progress, has been so thoroughly awakened in the South, and it is chiefly necessary that this interest shall be wisely directed, the passage and enforcement of adequate laws be encouraged, and the enactment of futile legislation be prevented.

HOW SHALL BIRTHS AND DEATHS BE REGISTERED?

Ten years ago we were unable to answer this question with any degree of certainty. Laws of various types were passed from time to time in the State legislatures, but the results of almost all such laws were disappointing. They did not work out in practice as those who had devised and urged them hoped that they would do.

The American Public Health Association appointed, about the year 1901, a committee to prepare a statement of the essential principles of effective registration. The report of the committee did not contain a draft of the bill, but it was soon found necessary to prepare such drafts, and they may be found in pamphlets subsequently published by the Census. The first notable success was the adoption of this law by Pennsylvania, which had struggled for over half a century to secure effective registration; the Model Law enacted in 1905 resulted in the admission of Pennsylvania to the registration area for the calendar year 1906. The American Medical Association took up the subject very actively through its Council on Public Health, which is a representative body with delegates from all the States, and a special committee, under the chairmanship of Dr. E. J. Lutz, of Kansas City, Kans., went carefully over the provisions of the bill, which now received the sanction of the

organized medical profession of the country. About this time it began to be known as the "Model Law." Its passage in Ohio, Missouri, and Kentucky was soon followed by the admission of these States into the registration area. Last year a committee of the Council on Public Health again went over its provisions, with the aid of representatives of the American Public Health Association, American Bar Association, Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, the Children's Bureau, and the Bureau of the Census, and the result was the latest revised form of the Model Bill. The following description of its essential provisions is taken from my report to the Council at its meeting in Chicago last February.

ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF THE MODEL REGISTRATION BILL

The Model Bill, as presented in the pamphlet on "Why Should Births and Deaths be Registered?" or in the appendix of the pamphlet on "Birth Registration," recently published by the Children's Bureau, is a rather formidable document, and I can readily understand that it might appall and discourage legislators in a State where there had been heretofore nothing in the way of recording the vital events of life. The reason for this is that it has been found wise to enter into what may be called administrative details, so that the letter of the law will be found to support the requirements of the State registrar and of the local registration officials in securing complete and correct records. The principle of the law is very simple and can be expressed in a few words: Effective registration requires prompt filing of certificates of births and deaths (with the absolutely necessary check of the compulsory burial permit for the latter) with the *local registrar* (not a county registrar) of a small, clearly defined primary registration district, and the prompt return of the original certificate *directly* from the local registrar (not to or through any county official) to the State registrar, who thus can exert *direct* control and supervision over the local registrars and procure uniform and effective enforcement of the law by means of the penalties provided therein when necessary.

should be a careful, conscientious person, aware of the importance of his duties, and prompt in fulfilling them. His district should be small enough so that he may exercise supervision over it, and so that the occurrence of a birth or death without proper registration may reasonably be expected to come to his attention. This will require perhaps from 1,000 to 1,500 local registrars in the average State. City and village clerks make good local registrars. Of course health officers already conducting registration in cities may be retained. For the country, township clerks may be employed, and in the absence of township organization, local registrars may be designated by a county board, or, preferably, as suggested by the Model Bill, by the State registrar. The practical objection to the latter method is the fear of building up a political machine or of creating new offices. In any event the local registrar should be liable to removal for neglect, and should receive a reasonable compensation (twenty-five cents) for all certificates of births and deaths properly registered and *promptly* returned. This small amount might seem insufficient, but has not proved so in practice, besides which local registrars soon come to take a pride in the completeness and promptness of their returns that is not at all dependent upon financial considerations. Within a few days after the date set by law for the mailing of returns practically all the reports from a State area should be in the hands of the State registrar, each district in which no births or no deaths occurred being represented by postal card statements to that effect. A record should be kept of tardy registrars and, by means of premonitory cards, followed by prompt legal action if necessary, no local registrar should be permitted to continue negligent for as much as three months. Thus the whole system can be kept up to a high standard of efficiency, a condition utterly out of the question when returns have to filter through the hands of county officials, who may themselves be disposed to be negligent or tardy.

The corps of local registrars, in addition to its usefulness in securing prompt and complete records of births and

deaths, may also become a very important factor in the general sanitary improvement of the State. This is being worked out thoroughly by Dr. Heizer, State Registrar of Kentucky, and his action in securing their aid for the distribution of literature and in other measures for the prevention of disease should be followed in other States.

The choice of a State registrar is important, and it goes without saying that sufficient compensation should be provided, and also the requisite degree of independence of action, to secure the services of a well-qualified man. The administration of a registration law requires much tact and executive ability, and the enforcement of the law should not be hampered by undue interference with the authority of the administrator. It is very important that financial provision be made for the services of one or more inspectors, or that the State registrar should be able to investigate cases of neglect, so that the law may be administered uniformly and effectively throughout the State.

PRESENT CONDITION AND PROSPECT OF REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

Up to a very recent time the prospect for obtaining effective State registration of vital statistics in the South seemed most discouraging. All efforts in this direction apparently wasted themselves upon an unscalable wall of difficulty, which no man might overcome. In some States there were even no State Boards of Health, and in the States in which sanitary organizations existed the opinions of the public health officials were to the effect that the difficulties attending the installation and administration of a State registration law were quite insuperable. I recall especially that, only a few years ago, Dr. Richard H. Lewis, then Secretary of the North Carolina State Board of Health, brought sharply to my attention what then seemed the sheer futility of advocating, for his State, such a measure as the Model Bill. Yet North Carolina has this year, largely through the practical success of preliminary legislation recommended by Dr. Lewis, adopted the Model Law. And I believe, now that the ice has been broken—if we may

apply such a metaphor to the South—we shall within the next few years have many accessions of Southern States.

It may be of interest to take up the States of the South individually with respect to the present outlook:

Maryland. Maryland has endeavored to collect vital statistics for many years, but was first admitted to the registration area for 1906. The State law was defective, but owing to the fact that Baltimore, which constitutes approximately one-half of the total population of the State, secured practically complete registration of deaths, it was supposed that the State as a whole reached the approximate standard of 90 per cent of complete registration. The registration of deaths in certain counties continued to be notoriously incomplete and the registration of births was also very unsatisfactory, not only for the rural portion of the State but also for Baltimore. Last year (1912) radical changes were made in the registration law, which was thus brought into closer agreement with the Model Law, some of the most objectionable features of the former system of returns through county health officers being eliminated, and the results have already shown marked improvement.

District of Columbia. The District of Columbia is the city of Washington, and there should be, of course, no occasion to question the absolute completeness of the registration of births and deaths conducted under a law framed by Congress, which has so strongly urged the passage of effective legislation upon the various States. The registration of deaths is, in fact, satisfactory, but the registration of births is not yet complete, and there has never been thorough enforcement of birth registration by prosecution of delinquent cases. The law itself is not entirely satisfactory and an improved measure has been pending for some time in Congress. Until within a few years the returns of births were so incomplete that correct rates of infantile mortality could not be computed; the percentage of present deficiency, while low, is higher than it should be, and cannot be removed entirely until physicians and midwives who fail to comply with the law are promptly prosecuted and fined.

Virginia. The Old Dominion had a law for the registration of vital statistics antedating the Civil War, but it became a dead letter and was repealed many years ago. There were also records of vital statistics in colonial days. Modern registration of births and deaths dates from June 14, 1912, and the results obtained under the Model Law now in force in that State have amply justified its passage. On February 13, 1913, Dr. W. A. Plecker, Assistant State Registrar, reported that 24,576 births and 14,952 deaths, both inclusive of stillbirths, had been returned to his office at Richmond for the period of slightly over six months from June 14 to December 31, 1912. These figures would correspond to annual rates of 23.3 and 14.2 per 1,000 estimated population, a most creditable showing when we consider that a registration law can never show full efficiency at the very beginning.

West Virginia. An antiquated county system, incapable of yielding results of statistical value, prevails in this State. It was hoped that the Model Bill might be passed this year, but the necessity for a general reorganization of the health service prevented any action. West Virginia deserves credit for having collected and published vital statistics for many years past, when all the surrounding States had no registration at all (Pennsylvania, Maryland, Kentucky, Virginia) or very defective registration (Ohio), but modern laws are now in force in all these States and it is time that West Virginia adopted an effective system.

North Carolina. North Carolina was the pioneer State of the South in putting the Model Law into effect, although limited at first to deaths in municipalities of 1,000 population and over (1909). The law was subsequently extended to those of 500 population (1911), and this year (1913) a complete Model Law, for both births and deaths, has been passed for the entire State.

The partial registration laws of North Carolina have paid their way from the start, and I know of no State in which the data obtained by the registration of deaths have been made a more effective asset in the prevention of disease than the rates for North Carolina towns in the

hands of Dr. Rankin. His paper on "The Influence of Vital Statistics on Longevity" and his papers and practical talks on the necessity of registration have been an inspiring influence in many national organizations and at the International Congress of Hygiene and Demography held at Washington last year. He *believes* what he says as to the importance of vital statistics. Too many sanitarians accept such statements in a perfunctory way and do not *vitalize* them by actual employment as an agent in sanitary work. Those who were present at the last meeting of this Congress will recall his emphatic testimony on the subject, and the success of the North Carolina law is assured under his administration. One point: Pending the passage of this law, Dr. Rankin informed me that he would not recommend its passage unless the legislature would grant—as they did—adequate provision for its support by including the necessary and reasonable sum provided in the bill for installation and operation. I commend this attitude. Too many laws have been more or less crippled, as is the Virginia law and, to a greater extent, the North Dakota law, by the action of the legislature in cutting down the financial provision to an insufficient amount.

Kentucky. Kentucky was the first State of the South to adopt the Model Law for births and deaths and to enforce it on a State-wide basis. It was admitted to the registration area for deaths for 1911, the first calendar year of the operation of the law, and you will find the detailed data in the annual Bulletin of Mortality Statistics published by the Bureau of the Census for that year. The registration of births was also exceptionally good, no Southern States and only a few Northern States—some of them with registration laws in effect for many years—securing a larger proportion of the births that actually occurred.

Concerning the installation and early operation of this law, Dr. W. L. Heizer, State Registrar of Vital Statistics, wrote as follows:*

Twelve months ago the Vital Statistics Law existed only on paper. Within sixty days there had sprung up, as in a night, an army of 1,300 local registrars chosen by the physicians of the State. A

**Kentucky Medical Journal*, January 1, 1912.

personal visit to about fifty counties in every section of the State, hundreds of letters from local registrars, prompt monthly reports from every county of the State, convince us that no more capable body of officers could have been selected. In this period competent men had been chosen to serve the interests of the State at a small compensation, their commission and supplies forwarded, and on the first day of January, 1911, the Vital Statistics Law began its operation without a hitch.

There is no question but that the present satisfaction and pride that the people of the State as a whole now manifest toward their law is a result solely of the missionary work done by the medical profession of the State in explaining to them its worth and relation to their material and physical welfare.

In the *Bulletin of the State Board of Health of Kentucky*, September, 1912, this testimony is given as to the sanitary value of this law:

The value of Kentucky's Vital Statistics Law is strikingly shown in the report of Dr. Helzer in this Bulletin by means of the records of deaths and the reports of the local registrars of vital statistics made possible under the provision of the law. This epidemic of infantile paralysis was discovered within thirty days after it made its appearance on Kentucky soil, when active steps were at once taken to limit the spread of the disease and learn more of the manner of its distribution. Subsequent records of deaths from the entire State have enabled the State Board of Health to keep in touch with its spread, and should an epidemic of this or any other disease occur anywhere in the State the Vital Statistics Law guarantees that the State Department of Health shall know of it.

The same sort of security was felt during the epidemic of cerebrospinal meningitis in Louisville in the early months of 1912. Instructions in that case were issued to local registrars to refer applicants for burial permits for people who had died of this disease to the City Health Officer of Louisville, so that the health officer of the city or county should know immediately the spots of infection where death occurred, and active steps be taken to prevent a further spread of the disease from that source.

If the Bureau of Vital Statistics had done no other good during the year except in these two instances, its establishment would be justified and the cost of its operation returned many times.

Tennessee. Tennessee also had reports on vital statistics years ago, but the work had fallen into innocuous desuetude, if I may use the phrase, until 1909. For the year ending May 30, 1909, there were recorded 52,587 births and 21,940 deaths, corresponding to rates of 24.4 and 10.18 per

1,000 population as computed by the State authorities. These rates are far too low, and the system of enumeration, not registration, of vital statistics was of course a most unsatisfactory one; nevertheless the large number of legal records actually made is of value. It is very gratifying, however, to know that the Model Law has been enacted by the legislature of 1913, and the results that will follow the efficient administration of this law should soon justify the admission of Tennessee to the registration area.

South Carolina. South Carolina is one of the black spots on the map in the pamphlet on Birth Registration published by the Children's Bureau. At the time this was issued only four States in this country—namely, Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina—had no State laws for the registration of births and deaths, North Carolina being excepted only for deaths in municipalities of 500 population and over. Since then Arkansas and North Carolina have passed laws under which births and deaths can be registered, and only South Carolina and Georgia remain in the group of States without laws for this purpose. Under the heading "South Carolina a Dark Spot on the Map," the *Journal of the South Carolina Medical Association*, February, 1913, says:

Bulletin Number One just issued by the new Children's Bureau of the United States Government treats of Birth Registration. A significant map herein given shows four black spots for the States of South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, and Arkansas, indicating no laws on the subject whatever. All the other States have enacted laws more or less efficient. It is fitting that the color should be black so far as South Carolina is concerned, for we have no excuse as a people. The minutes of the very first meeting held in Charleston, February 14, 1848, for the purpose of organizing the South Carolina Medical Association, in its first official act, adopted the following significant resolution:

"Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to report on the recommendation of the National Medical Convention, to the medical profession, to use their influence to have established in their respective States, a registration of births, marriages, and deaths."

The report of this committee later shows that its efforts were finally successful and a law was placed on our statute books in 1853. It is highly probable that the war virtually put an end to its beneficent provisions.

Dr. W. B. Taylor, of Columbia, in his presidential address, 1884, urged the importance of a vital statistics law—and it is probable that a careful search for the facts will disclose some efforts to secure such laws.

The point we wish to emphasize is that we have waited sixty years, and surely we should now enter upon an unrelenting campaign for the passage of an act to provide for the registration of all births and deaths in South Carolina. Practically every country in the civilized world has such laws, and in fact almost every other State in the Union, except South Carolina. We were no doubt one of the first States (1853) to take favorable action. Let us do so again!

A bill was introduced this year, I believe, in the South Carolina Legislature providing for a county system of returns to judges of probate, a method proved futile in the old Ohio law. Fortunately it did not pass.

Georgia. Georgia is also a "dark spot on the map," and in fact the Empire State of the South has seemed more backward, and the prospect of obtaining adequate legislation for vital statistics more hopeless, than any other State in the Union. I am glad that interest is being awakened upon this subject, and hope that the present meeting of this Congress may lend impetus to the movement so that legislation may be obtained at an early date.

Florida. Florida passed a registration law in 1899, and the State Board of Health some years ago adopted rules and regulations having the effect of law and closely modeled upon the Model Bill that, if enforced, should have yielded good results. I have recently been in correspondence with Dr. Porter relative to a plan for partial enforcement of the law in municipalities over a certain population, much in the way adopted by North Carolina, and believe that there is some prospect of active work being undertaken in this State.

Alabama. The registration of vital statistics in Alabama is a function assumed by the State Medical Association, which constitutes the State Board of Health. Alabama has been a leader in the South in the importance attached to the registration of vital statistics, and is the only State in the South in which there has been continuous effort at State-wide registration of births and deaths for

a period now extending over thirty years. Nevertheless no birth rates or death rates have ever been obtained for the State as a whole that possess the slightest statistical value. The State Board of Censors, in the Transactions for 1912, present a table concerning which they remark: "A study of this table will show how meager are the reports, especially of deaths, from many of the counties." The table shows only 38,966 births reported for 1911 as compared with 53,450 that occurred under an assumed normal birth rate of 25 per 1,000 population, and 14,606 deaths, less than half of the number, 32,070, according to the assumed normal death rate of 15 per 1,000. The assumed normal birth rate is far too low, the number of children under one year of age as enumerated by the last Census (April 15, 1910) being 64,512, or 30.2 per 1,000 population at all ages, and this number is considerably less than the number of births during the census year from which the survivors only remain at the date of enumeration. If the births exceeded the infants under one year by only 10 per cent—a low ratio as shown by comparative statistics—the actual number of births in Alabama each year would exceed 70,000 (about 33 per 1,000 instead of 25) and the percentage of completeness of returns would be much less.

The Alabama law does not provide for compulsory burial and removal permits throughout the State—an absolutely necessary requirement for successful registration of deaths—and returns are made through county health officers. Each county thus becomes an individual problem, and the history of registration in the State shows great variations in the reported efficiency of registration in the various counties, depending upon the activity or lack of interest of these officials. While some improvement has been shown during the past year, due to the active work of the State Registrar, Dr. H. G. Perry, probably less than two-thirds of the births that occurred were registered, the death rate was only 8.6 per 1,000—considerably less than the death rate of Tennessee (10.1) for the first year of operation of an admittedly defective method (enumeration)—and there is no reasonable hope that the system, without the requirement of

burial permits, will ever present results of value for statistical purposes. It is gratifying, therefore, that the Board, in accordance with the suggestion of President Morris, recommended that the Association urge the adoption of local ordinances requiring burial permits in municipalities of 500 population and over. This provision, if made a part of the State law and uniformly enforced as in North Carolina, would render a considerable portion of the general population eligible for admission to the registration area. I believe, however, from the long history of registration in Alabama, the importance of which the commanding genius of Dr. Jerome Cochran has impressed upon this matter in the minds of the profession of that State, and the practical examples of successful methods now available in other States of the South, that it would be preferable to ask for the enactment of the Model Bill by the next legislature (1915) rather than to palter longer with a system which the experience of thirty years has proved to be worthless, so far as returns of either births or deaths are concerned.

Mississippi. A brief law was enacted last year for the establishment of a Bureau of Vital Statistics by the State Board of Health and containing provision for the necessary compensation of local registrars. Under this law the Board adopted, as rules and regulations having the effect of law, practically the entire Model Bill, which has been in force in that State since November 1, 1912. The work has been excellently organized, and the results so far available indicate that the law will be a success. The death rates for the first three months of registration were, in order, 10.04, 12.1, and 10.6 per 1,000. With continued thorough enforcement of this law Mississippi should soon become eligible for admission to the registration area.

Arkansas. One of the "dark spots" until a month ago, Arkansas has now passed a general public health law, with adequate provision for the organization of a Bureau of Vital Statistics and compensation of local registrars. By the adoption of the necessary Rules and Regulations as in Mississippi, there is no reason why effective registration of vital statistics should not be obtained.

Louisiana. Louisiana, like Mississippi, has adopted the provisions of the Model Bill as Rules and Regulations of the State Board of Health, but labors under the difficulty that there is no provision for compensation of local registrars. Dr. Dowling is making energetic efforts to overcome this defect, and an attempt will be made to organize the State registration service on an effective basis.

Oklahoma. Oklahoma has a system of returns through county health officers, and efforts to secure the adoption of a better law have, so far, not proved successful.

Texas. The Texas law consists of Rules and Regulations largely based upon the requirements of the Model Bill, but the absence of compensation for local registrars and the existence of the county system except for municipalities render the returns incomplete.

New Mexico. A law requiring reports to county probate clerks is in existence, but there is no State registration office and the results for the State are thus not available. As has been found true of all county systems of registration, this law is probably quite worthless as a basis for vital statistics.

Arizona. Last, among the far Southwestern States, Arizona has been registering births and deaths with some measure of success, but the law, which is based upon the Model Bill, may require some amendments before fully satisfactory results are obtained. The problem of registration is very difficult in sparsely settled regions.

CONCLUSION

In his recent inaugural address President Wilson said:

Nor have we studied and perfected the means by which government may be put at the service of humanity in safeguarding the health of the nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as well as their rights in the struggle for existence. This is no sentimental duty. The firm basis of government is justice, not pity. These are matters of justice. There can be no equality of opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they cannot alter, control, or singly cope with. Society must see to it

that it does not itself crush or weaken or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves. Sanitary laws, pure food laws, and laws determining conditions of labor which individuals are powerless to determine for themselves are intimate parts of the very business of justice and legal efficiency.

A fundamental means "by which government may be put at the service of humanity in safeguarding the *health* of the nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as well as their *rights* in the struggle for existence" is the recording of the vital statistics, the true "book-keeping of humanity." This is recognized by every practical sanitary and social worker. It is to our shame that we have neglected this duty so long; that legislatures and State Boards of Health have wasted the people's time and money, and frittered away the people's lives, through ignorance of the important facts that vital statistics—accurate vital statistics—alone can reveal. When the Children's Bureau, established for the purpose of protecting the young and charged with the duty of studying infant mortality, is brought to a halt by the absence of the necessary data, it is time to consider why our country should stand in the rear, and not in the van, of national progress:

Convinced that the most effective work on behalf of public health that can be done in this country to-day lies in the prevention of infant mortality, the Children's Bureau is brought to the necessity of appealing for such legislation and such local records as will indicate where and when the babies are born and where and when they die, as a preliminary to an intelligent study of the subject.*

Think of it! In the twentieth century and in the United States—not in mediæval times and in barbarous lands—no complete registration of births and deaths for the entire country! Let us remedy this condition, for the South, which needs it most, and for the entire United States, by beginning right here with the passage and enforcement of a thorough, modern, Model Registration Law for the State of Georgia.

*Monograph No. 1, Children's Bureau.

IV. COURTS AND PRISONS

Report of Committee on Courts and Prisons

**The Convict Lease and the System of Contract
Labor—Their Place in History**

**Modern Ideas of Administration in the Government
of Workhouses and Penal Institutions**

**The Treatment of Juvenile Delinquents and the
Work of the Juvenile Court**

Is Capital Punishment Justified?

Needed Reforms in Criminal Procedure

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON COURTS AND PRISONS

To the Southern Sociological Congress:

In its special program this Congress declares for the abolition of convict lease and contract systems, and for the adoption of modern principles of prison reform; for the extension and improvement of juvenile courts and juvenile reformatories.

During the past year notable progress in these matters has been made in certain of the Southern States, while in others the public sentiment has been growing toward a definite movement; and yet in others little, if anything, is in contemplation. Your committee has endeavored to obtain information from all the Southern States, but its information is not yet complete. Our inquiry has concerned particularly the existence of indeterminate sentence and parole laws, probation laws, juvenile court systems, reformatories or training schools for delinquent boys and girls; contract labor systems and convict laws, prison schools and libraries, working of prisoners on public roads, and advisable changes in the criminal court systems in the various States.

The indeterminate sentence and parole system exists in Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas, while in Alabama the Governor has the power to parole a convict on good behavior. Oklahoma, Georgia, Mississippi, and Virginia have not yet adopted the indeterminate sentence and parole.

Probation laws, or laws allowing suspension of sentence, are in vogue in the States of Kentucky, Missouri, Virginia, and Texas. In the Legislature of Georgia such a law was defeated last year by a narrow vote. A bill was introduced recently into the Tennessee Legislature, but never came to a vote. South Carolina and Mississippi, and probably all the other Southern States, have no probation laws.

The juvenile court system now exists in the States of Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, while it has not been adopted in

Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Most of these laws for the treatment of delinquent and dependent children are modeled upon the best laws existing in other States. Some of them have only very recently been enacted.

Reformatories or training schools for delinquent boys are maintained in the States of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Oklahoma, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia, while there is no such institution in Mississippi.

The following States have training schools for girls: Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas, South Carolina, and Virginia. In Georgia such a school is being established for Fulton County. In Tennessee there is no such school for wayward and delinquent girls, but many of these are cared for by a Catholic institution in Memphis. The Tennessee Industrial School, a well-known institution for dependent children, has a large girls' department, in which good work has long been done. Mississippi has no training school for delinquent or dependent girls. The Tennessee Reformatory for Boys, near Nashville, began its work in February, 1912, and now has two hundred and sixty boys, nearly all of them having been sent there for offenses punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary.

The States of Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, and Virginia maintain convict lease systems or contract labor systems. In Florida a bill to abolish the convict lease system was passed in 1912, but was vetoed by the Governor. Later the candidates for Governor and the Legislature were unanimous in promising to do away with the system at the next session of the legislature. The States of Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas have no convict lease or contract labor system. In Arkansas an intense opposition to the contract labor system, led by Governor Donaghey, found its strongest expression just before Christmas, 1912, when the Governor pardoned three hundred and sixty convicts as one step in his effort to break up this system; and in March, 1913, Governor Robinson signed a bill which finally abolished the lease

system and established in its place a State farm, where prisoners are henceforth to be worked, thus bringing to an end one of the most spectacular campaigns ever waged against the lease system. The present administration in Texas has abolished the lease system, and all prisoners are worked under State supervision and control and on State work. They are employed in manufacturing industries and on farms, about two-thirds being worked on farms. In Louisiana a large number of convicts are employed on a large sugar plantation owned by the State. In Mississippi the convict leasing system was abolished by the Constitutional Convention of 1890, and now all of the prisoners are worked in agricultural pursuits, the State owning and operating four plantations. The Assistant Attorney-General of Mississippi says that the prisoners are well cared for, well fed, well clothed, not overworked, and the system is in a very satisfactory condition; and that the death rate has been reduced from about sixteen per cent under the old system to about two per cent under the present system. The present system is not only self-supporting, but yields a large revenue to the State each year.

In the States of Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas the State prisons have both schools and libraries, while there are none in Alabama and South Carolina. The prisons in Georgia and Mississippi have libraries, but no schools.

The District of Columbia Prison Farm, at Occoquan, Va., is a model workhouse, in which the very best methods of prison management, under the supervision of Warden W. H. Whittaker, are employed. We commend it to all the Southern States as worthy of study and emulation.

In Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas the State prisoners are not employed to work on the public roads, while they are so employed in Georgia and Virginia, and a very few of them are so employed in Louisiana and Mississippi. However, in South Carolina, Alabama, and Tennessee, and perhaps in all the other States, county workhouse prisoners and municipal prisoners are employed on the public roads and streets. As to the advisability of

working prisoners on the public roads, opinions of students of the question vary in the different States. In Georgia it is thought to be advisable if centralized. In South Carolina it is not regarded favorably, partly because it is considered too expensive for the results obtained. In Virginia it is favored by some because of the relief from close confinement within a prison. In Texas and other States it is opposed by many because of the danger from brutality of armed guards, while others believe that with the improvement of the workhouse systems it would be a good thing for short-term prisoners. The honor system in vogue in Oregon, Nevada, and Colorado has not yet been adopted in the South, so far as we can ascertain; but there is no doubt that if the honor system could be gradually developed, and necessary safeguards provided against excessive tasks, the working of short-term prisoners on public roads would be of great benefit to them, as well as to the State and county.

In some of the Southern States the graded system for convicts is in vogue and works very satisfactorily. They are divided into three classes, and upon his entrance a prisoner is placed in the second class. If his conduct is unobjectionable for ninety days, he is advanced to the first class, while if his conduct is otherwise he is reduced to the third class. The details of this system are probably too well known to require description.

The humane plan of devoting a part of the receipts from prisons to the care of the families of convicts has made little if any headway in the South. In nearly all of the Southern States the penitentiaries turn large sums of money into the State treasuries, while those dependent upon the prisoners have to look out for themselves, or be dependent upon charity, whether public or private. It is the earnest hope of your committee that a campaign will be waged by this Congress toward the establishment of a system for aid of such families in all the Southern States.

The problem of tuberculosis and other diseases in the State prisons is growing more serious, and efforts are being made in some of the States to segregate those suffering from such diseases from the other prisoners. It is prob-

able that such provision is made in some of the States, but we do not know which they are. With the growing sentiment for prison reform and better health conditions, we believe that this system will shortly be adopted in all the Southern States.

The question of competent prison guards is a very important one in all the States. It is too often that the proper encouragement is not given to good and efficient guards, and there is too often an opening for the trifling fellow who cares only for employment for a short time. The guards should be graded and encouraged and paid such compensation as will induce them to endeavor by good conduct to hold their positions long enough to be efficient and useful, and not brutal in any way. We are glad to note that there is a growing antipathy to the whipping of prisoners, and that this is being reduced almost to a minimum in a number of the States.

The county jail as a place of punishment is increasingly considered a detriment to the health and good morals of prisoners; and there is much sentiment in favor of establishing a system of districts composed each of certain contiguous counties in each State, in which a farm shall be maintained, on which such prisoners will be employed, so that with fresh air and wholesome exercise the deterioration in physique and morals will be avoided. This will be a long step in advance, and we earnestly hope it will be adopted in all the States.

If under probation or suspended sentence laws the incentive can be held out to first offenders to try to become useful citizens, a large number of persons will never go to prison, but will be redeemed, and society will not be injured. Under the indeterminate sentence and parole laws many persons are redeemed from lives of criminality and the class of habitual criminals is greatly reduced. Perhaps in all of the Southern States the facilities for speedy trials of persons accused of misdemeanors are entirely inadequate. In every county the jurisdiction over these persons should be conferred upon some court which can hold a session every week day in the year. Thus a great many evils

will be avoided, particularly the evil of a poor, friendless defendant having to be detained in jail on a minor charge, awaiting the session of an itinerant court, because of his inability to execute a bond for his appearance at court. In many of the States this problem has been attacked with much vigor, and we hope to see such a system in vogue in all the counties of all the States.

In the criminal courts it is too often true that no attention is paid to the needs of a particular case. The varying temperaments and conditions of human beings require much special treatment, so that the very best incentive can be held out to each prisoner to lead a correct and useful life. Of course the purpose to reform and not to punish, except as punishment may be incidental to reformation, is the underlying purpose animating those who to-day strive for reform in criminal procedure and prison management.

Finally, the administration of the law should be impartial as well as humane. The uniform enforcement of the law is necessary to evolve out of the individual interest and the clan interest a national spirit. As said by one of our committee in a recent address:

Whatever of prejudice or competition of race or color exists, whatever of inequality of opportunity there may be, this will not so incite to crime as will a color or race standard of administration by the courts. In exact proportion as the laws are uniformly administered, there is developed the spirit of confidence among all classes, the governing and the governed; in exact proportion as there may be an administration of favoritism, there will spring up a distrust among all classes, the governed and the governing. An administration of favoritism and of partiality to a class or race will breed distrust and start a positive violation of the law.

Your committee recommends that there be a Subcommittee on Courts and Prisons in each of the Southern States, charged with the duty of maintaining a campaign of education for the improvement of the administration of justice in criminal courts and of prison conditions in accordance with the principles advocated by this Congress.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN H. DE WITT, *Chairman*;
PHILIP WELTNER, *Secretary*.

THE CONVICT LEASE AND THE SYSTEM OF CONTRACT LABOR—THEIR PLACE IN HISTORY

HON. HOOPER ALEXANDER, ATLANTA, GA.

RIGHTLY considered, the convict lease is not a problem in penology, but a problem in economics—simply one of the many manifestations of the ancient struggle between feudalism and democracy.

It has always been a favorite fallacy of "practical" men that the graver problems of government can best be solved by farming out its duties to private contract. The fools and the cowards always believe it because it is the line of least resistance; the greedy and the bold pretend to believe it because it opens to them the door of opportunity.

It is the purpose of this article to bring out in high light the absolute identity of the convict lease in Georgia with the system once known as the institution of slavery—identity in its *raison d'être*, as well as in its history. The views here to be expressed cannot be properly grasped except by those who understand or are prepared to accept the truth that the African slave trade and American slavery, so called, were no more the same thing than the convict lease was the same as the crime of burglary.

The slave trade is as old as history. Its first development in England, when Elizabeth became the business partner of a band of pirates, was a mere matter of private greed fertilized by the spirit of adventure. The Peace of Utrecht, in 1713, regarded as a triumph of British diplomacy, elevated a buccaneering profession into a national policy, wresting a rich commerce from the Portuguese and French, and establishing a covenant of sovereigns whereby Spain conceded to England the right, and England granted to a favored corporation the franchise, to furnish five thousand slaves a year to the Spanish colonies.

The favored monopoly stimulated the trade. The number of the slavers increased. New markets had to be developed. Thereupon while the Assiento of Utrecht remained

of force the slave trade to the British Colonies increased, Georgia alone being exempt by law from its curse. With the termination of the treaty, the slaving capital pressed hard upon British statesmanship to furnish new outlets to its energy, and in 1750 the prohibition against bringing slaves to Georgia was repealed.

It must be borne in mind that individual sentiment was overwhelmingly opposed in all the colonies to the bringing in of the Africans, and that the organized colonial governments opposed it. The power and authority to regulate commerce was in the home government, and the colonies were not permitted to prohibit the evil by law. The situation was very similar to that which exists to-day in Georgia in reference to commerce in alcoholic liquors, and in California in regard to the incoming of the Japanese. The Federal authority enables a few greedy people to defeat the will of the majority in the State.

By reason of the facts stated, the condition in Georgia, at least, was anomalous. The traffic was a matter of dealing between licensed pirates on the one hand, and individual colonists on the other, who could claim no assistance from the colonial governments and no rights under the colonial laws. The ownership and control of the slaves was largely a matter of individual strength and aggressive purpose.

The position of the slave was worst of all. He had no status before the law, was not a member of society, and was hardly recognized as human. Until formally declared a serf by positive law, he was not even property. The prevailing view taken in the common law and by the common lawyers seems to have inclined to the theory that his owner had succeeded to the rights of his original captor, who was assumed to have been a member of a rival tribe at war, and held over him the power of life and death.

Among civilized people such conditions were intolerable, and the colonial legislatures began early to evolve codes for the protection as well as for the government of the new element. The British authority had not permitted them to prohibit the slave trade or exclude the negro, but it interposed no obstacle to their dealing with his status after

arrival. In most of the colonies the resultant policy was a process of evolution, gradually adjusting its parts to functional necessities and conforming to environment. In Georgia the legal adaptation was a fully developed system at its outset. In order to understand clearly what happened it will be well to note certain facts:

1. Into a primitive commonwealth had been introduced as slaves, to a small minority of the citizens, a large number of savages, approximating in number as many as the total citizenship, and in some localities largely exceeding it.

2. Experience began to demonstrate, as reason had already warned, that the presence of the newcomers involved grave elements of danger, not only to the virile class who held them in bondage, but to others as well, and perhaps most of all to those who had no participation in the system.

3. The slave himself had no legal status and no rights under the law, and was, both by reason of the greed of his master and the necessity for his own repression, in many cases the object of an undue harshness the exhibition of which was repugnant to the sensibilities of men.

4. To these factors in the problem may be added the dangers of factious instigations from the French and Spaniards, the latter being peculiarly dangerous in the case of Georgia.

The humanity of the dominant race impelled to such action as would mitigate the condition of the slaves and make their improvement and development possible; while its intensely practical common sense warned that whatever action was taken should hold due regard for the necessity for controlling and restraining those who at *last* were savages, and for insuring its own safety. Had there been no other factors in the problem than these, it is altogether likely that the solution worked out would have been some form of governmental tutelage, compelling labor and bestowing upon the laborers the net return of their toil. Such at least should have been the case unless they were restored to their native land. It may, at any rate, be hoped that it would have been that much wiser and juster than was the policy pursued by the United States, under somewhat similar conditions, in

the case of the red men. Whatever else is true, the problem and the duty belonged to the organized government and not to individuals, and should have been so recognized.

But there were other factors. First came the question of expense and the meagerness of the colonial resources. Here were thousands of savages in the colony, an element of danger to the people and the objects themselves of great harshness from their semi-feudal overlords. It was as useless to cavil over the tyranny that had forced them on the colony as it was to curse the buccaneers who sold them or denounce the greedy citizens who bought them. They were there and the problem had to be dealt with, no matter how slender the colonial exchequer.

The other factor lay in the ultraconservatism of the English-speaking races and their reverential regard for the rights of property. The most curious fact in English and American history is the fallacious superstition that keeps us eternally devising constitutional safeguards against the apprehended radicalism of the masses. From Runnymede to Philadelphia, every revolution we have ever had has emanated from the property-owning order. In colonial times, as now, the most sacred thing in the eyes of the masses was the right of property. To them it stands equally beyond question, whether it rest in the primal sanction of the creation and possession of material things or in the artificial bestowal of an incorporeal hereditament. It is true, as already stated, that the owners of the slaves had, at first, no legal authority behind their masterful ownership, and held their property only by the title of the outstretched arm. But they had paid the current money of the merchant and were in possession, and no possible logic could ever have persuaded the colonial scions of the most conservative of nations to confiscate their chattels.

The inevitable resultant of these forces was writ large in prophetic example across the history of their ancestors. For centuries past, wherever a need was urgent and the difficulty great, the English people had unhesitatingly farmed out their governmental duties upon private contract. They had been no less ready to carry on naval wars by the

aid of privateers than to surrender the building of highways upon turnpike franchises. The very structure of the English government was a system of feudal franchises, and most of the colonies themselves were proprietary grants of territory and the right to govern it, out of the profits of which franchises masterful men had built up vast fortunes for themselves and a colonial empire for the crown. Recourse was naturally had to this same device in dealing with the presence of the African savages, and a new system of franchises sprang up, whereby the colonial authorities intrusted the government of the Africans to private persons, defining by law the rights of citizen and serf. The American institution of domestic slavery sprang from no sympathy with the slave trade. It was no more identical with the slave trade than a toll bridge franchise is the same thing as the necessity for crossing a river. The slave trade had imposed evils on the colonies. A governmental duty resulted. Domestic slavery was an expedient for discharging that duty by contract.

Evils in States must of necessity precede their remedies. African slaves began to be introduced into Georgia in 1750. The evil was officially recognized and dealt with in 1770. The preamble of the act throws a flood of light upon the matter: "Whereas, from the increasing number of slaves in this province, it is necessary as well to make proper regulations for the future ordering and governing such slaves, and to ascertain and prescribe the punishment of crime by them committed, as to settle and limit by positive law the extent of the power of the owner of such slaves over them, so that they may be kept in due subjection and obedience, and owners and persons having the care and management of such slaves may be restrained from exercising unnecessary rigor or wanton cruelty over them," etc.

Examination and analysis of the act shows that it aimed at the attainment of the objects already herein indicated: the establishment of a legal status and legally defined rights for the Africans and their tutelage and protection, and the safeguarding of the colony against them. The system thus established remained the substantial basis of Georgia's policy toward the African for ninety-five years. It is not with-

in the scope of this article to discuss either the wisdom or the justice of that policy as between the State and the Africans. The object in view has been attained if what has been written has clearly developed the fact that the presence of the negroes was accepted as an evil entailing upon the government a duty; that that duty consisted chiefly in protecting the State against their tendencies with all possible humanity to them; that, by reason of the cost and difficulty involved, the State (or colony) farmed out the duty upon contract, or as a franchise; and that, while the beneficiary of the franchise was permitted to take the labor of the ward for compensation, precisely as feudal tenants *in capite* took *primer seizin* from wards in chivalry and all the labor of the villeins, or a turnpike company charges tolls for riding on a highway, correlative duties were nevertheless imposed, the aim of which was to secure the performance by individuals of what was recognized as being in its essence a duty of the government. We are not concerned with the workings of the system, its failure or success. It perished, with all its merits and its faults, in 1865.

I invite attention now to a brief history of the penal system.

At common law nearly all offenses were called felonies and the penalty was death, unless the benefit of clergy reduced it to branding. Like all the other colonies, Georgia gradually mitigated the ferocity of this economical code by the substitution of the equally inexpensive penalties of cropping the ears or whipping, with the pillory as an ultimate possibility of mercy. In the beginning of the nineteenth century there were sociological reformers among us who thought that crimes should be graded and penalties framed with the idea of reformation in them. In 1817 these views took shape in the establishment of a penitentiary system.

There is ever a moral inertia among the conservatives, retarding the progress of peoples, and so, after 1817, alternating majorities in successive legislatures deplored the expense and ineffectiveness of this sentimental system, or boasted of its beneficent results. The accidental burning

of the penitentiary in 1831 resulted in "abolishing" the system, by which it is meant that we returned to the inexpensive simplicity of the common law. After eighteen months of burning flesh and swinging gallows, the penitentiary was finally reestablished never to be questioned again. Civilization had definitely moved forward another step.

This penal code was established for the white race only and was based fundamentally on the punitive theory. After 1817 it had in it the idea of reformation, and the meager statistics available indicate that prior to 1860 it was reformatory.

The system adopted for the negroes was preventive. In certain crimes of capital grade they were judicially tried. For the rest, they were left to the discretion of their masters, who held the franchise to judge and punish.

In 1860 there were 245 convicts in the penitentiary, all white, whereof only seven were for burglary. In forty-three years the total number committed had been about 1,600. During the forty-three years of the convict lease the number of the felony convicts was about 10,500. Including misdemeanants, who were included in the figures prior to 1860, they were about 20,000.

During the Civil War the convicts were all pardoned. In 1865 the score was clean.

Under the presidential reconstruction policy the reorganization of the State government was left to the native white population, the governing class, the men who had fought the war. A convention of these in October and November, 1865, framed a new constitution. They showed no bitterness, but accepted results in perfect good faith. Into their new Constitution they wrote: "The government of the United States having, as a war measure, proclaimed all slaves held or owned in this State emancipated from slavery, and having carried that proclamation into full practical effect, there shall henceforth be within the State of Georgia neither slavery nor involuntary servitude save as a punishment for crime after legal conviction thereof."

This abolition of slavery by Georgia within her territory was followed the next year by its abolition throughout the

Union by the thirteenth amendment, Georgia giving the vote which passed that instrument.

After ninety-five years the State had now done what the colony had shrunk from in 1770—prohibited slavery. But, instead of being any better prepared to cope with the resultant difficulties, the number of the Africans had vastly increased, while the public resources were relatively less. To make the matter worse, a powerful country, emerging angry and intolerant from a bloody war, was pressing impatiently upon her for bricks without straw. As heretofore pointed out, the act of 1770 was a governmental device for meeting a dangerous condition. Incidentally, however, it had established a status for the Africans, and all the rights they had under the law depended upon it. However harsh it may seem to a people accustomed for generations to the blessings of liberty and law, it had come as a great deliverance to the original slaves, who before its passage had absolutely no rights at all. The Constitution of 1865 overthrew the system established in 1770 and left the negroes, as they had been before its passage, with no defined status whatever. They were not only not citizens, but the Supreme Court of the United States had held that no State could make them citizens. To meet this anomalous condition the Constitution of 1865 enjoined upon the next legislature a positive mandate to provide a status for them and define and protect their civil rights. That legislature was of the same type as the men who framed the Constitution of 1865 and the Governor chosen, Charles J. Jenkins, was one of the most elevated characters in the history of the State. The legislature enacted a number of laws in pursuance of the constitutional mandate, all of them for the benefit of the negroes, and intrusted the further execution of the task to a commission composed of Ebenezer Starnes, William Hope Hull, Samuel Barnett, and Logan E. Bleckley—all of them being men whose names are synonymous in Georgia with all that is noblest in human character.

Anticipating that the new freedom of the negroes would result in a great increase of crime, the legislature of 1866 proceeded to reduce a great number of felonies to misde-

meanors, authorizing the judge to impose very light fines, whippings, or short terms of outdoor labor on a chain gang. Other legislation at the same time provided for the establishment of local chain gangs by the several counties for their own misdemeanants.

These changes resulted partly from want of means for handling the criminals, and partly from the certain knowledge that the negroes would rapidly fill up the penitentiary. It had long been foreseen in Georgia that if the preventive system of franchises adopted in 1770 should be abolished the natural savage tendencies of the Africans would reassert themselves in a normal course of conduct which in the white man's case is abnormal, in his case called "crime," and so dealt with. Whatever may have been the defects of the old preventive system of dominant mastership, it had been effective in the discipline of the negroes, and their conduct during the Civil War had been one of the lustrous pages of history. With their emancipation symptoms of moral decadence early became obvious, and the legislation of March, 1866, was enacted to meet that condition, partly by providing a more lenient criminal code. It proceeded from no mistaken view of the negro's nature. The men who made these laws simply gave up their own theories and frankly attempted in good faith to carry out the theories of the dominant section. Proposing thus to treat as criminal conduct which they themselves really regarded as merely a normal savage impulse, they mitigated to the utmost the harshness of the penal code.

The results were serious. When the legislature reconvened in November there were already a hundred convicts in the penitentiary and one hundred and fifty in the State chain gangs. There must have been as many more in the county gangs, though exact statistics on this subject are wanting. Nearly all were negroes. No taxes had been collected for three years, and there was practically no money in the State. The Federal government was enforcing the direct tax of 1864 with great rigor. The proposition then made to abolish the penitentiary was not, as the law of 1831 had been, the result of a reactionary sentiment, but

resulted merely from the bankruptcy of the State. Governor Jenkins set his face like a flint against the movement, but the effort to get relief through the coöperation of the counties had only partially succeeded and some expedient was indispensable. Again, therefore, they looked toward the old-as-history device of farming out the duty for a price. An act looking to the contracting out of the penal establishment was reluctantly approved by the Governor, but the authority was discretionary with him and it was never executed. During 1867 the legislature was forbidden by the military to assemble, and no appropriations were made; but the Governor found ways and means for maintaining the penal establishment.

The reconstruction measures of 1867 were harsh in character and appear to have emanated from a spirit of great hostility toward the South. It is difficult to see where there was any authority of justification for them. There was no state of war. Georgia had been restored to the Union. It had voted on the thirteenth amendment and made its passage possible. After that, and in the midst of profound peace, an army came into Georgia, set up a new electorate of negroes, disfranchised most of the white people, turned out the Governor and put a military officer in his place, and proceeded to govern the State. General Ruger found about three hundred negroes and about twenty-five white men in the penitentiary, with new recruits coming daily both to it and to the chain gang. He had no money, and so, in May, 1868, he sold a hundred "able-bodied healthy negro convicts" into slavery for one year for \$2,500, and in July another hundred for a thousand dollars. There was no authority of law for this action. He just did on his own authority what the colonists had done in 1770, and largely for the same reasons. The civil government set over the State under the form of an election, but really under General Meade's authority, made a contract in 1869 to sell five hundred more of them.

The legislature of 1871 desired to be rid of the system; but by reason of debts contracted in aid of railroads and otherwise under the reconstruction government, the State's

finances were in a horrible condition. The legislature temporized and extended the lease of April 1, 1874. It was fully intended to reform by that time, but the effort failed, and in March, 1874, another lease for five years was authorized. Nearly three years before this lease terminated, and while the public conscience was asleep, shrewd men secured a law authorizing a twenty-year lease beginning April 1, 1879. In 1896 the Populist party so aroused the public conscience on the subject that the Democrats made most solemn promises to put an end to the whole business; but they broke the promise, excusing themselves on the ground that it was "impracticable," and authorized another lease of five years.

The twenty-year lease started with 1,200 convicts. Sixteen years later, in 1895, there were 2,424. In 1896 it was necessary to make another sweeping reduction of felonies by law. This brought the number down to 2,200 in 1899, but after that there was a new growth. It was promised that the lease act of 1897 should be the last, and there were people who believed the claim that it was an improvement on the old leases. In fact, it was worse than any of them. It not only increased the hours of labor, but authorized subletting. Under these changes the price rose. The twenty-year lease, like those before, was intended only to save expense. Under the lease of 1897 the State began to make money out of it and the thing was made infinitely more horrible. From a mere weakness it grew into a sordid crime. The legislature of 1903 again found it "impracticable" to enact the promised reform and added a new horror to the thing. Promising again that positively this was the last time, it leased again for five years and distributed the net hire to the counties. Twenty-eight of the counties elected under this law to take their pro rata share of the convicts and maintain them at their own expense, using their labor in road-building. The rest, more than a hundred in number, took the proceeds. As had been expected, the lease of 1903 brought large bids. The lessees offered an average of \$220, and the bribe to the counties was effective. There were sublettings as high as \$630 per annum.

When the legislature assembled in 1908, it was for a war to the finish. The same old cry was heard that reform was "impracticable," the same promises of reform hereafter. The enemies of the system were divided. Some were disposed to believe promises; some were uncompromising. For a month of the regular session the battle continued. An extra session was called and after four weeks put an end to the system.

It would not be possible within the necessary limits of this paper to recount the evils that developed under the operations of the lease system. Its atrocities were unspeakable.

The later periods of the lease were nominally systems of contract labor. Under the theory of the leasing acts the convicts were no longer leased. The State sold its convicts and they were worked under the direction and control of wardens and officials employed by the State. The advocates and apologists of the system were very jealous of its name, and took umbrage when it was called a lease. As a matter of fact the disclosures of the legislative investigation showed, among other abuses, that the State's wardens were secretly drawing salaries from the lessees as large as, and sometimes larger than, the salaries paid by the State. Under the law the convicts could be worked from sunup to sundown. By the most moderate testimony they were worked from daylight till dark. The convicts said it was "from can to can't."

The real evil was worse than the sufferings of the convict. It always is in such matters. So far as the negro was concerned, slavery had in it for him more good than evil. The savages were, on the whole, elevated under its operations to a higher moral and economic plane than they had occupied before, and it is by no means certain that they have not, under their freedom, shown, on the whole, more of moral and industrial decadence than of progress. It is not possible to say. There are so many individual instances both of progress and of retrogression that we cannot find the balance. It is not conceivable that the convicts were bettered under either the lease or the contract system.

But, after all, the evil in both was in the unfair competition of them with the labor of honest men and freemen, and in the shirking of its duty by the government.

It is this latter feature of the lease to which I have desired specially to call attention. It has at some time or other characterized every function of human government. The money changers and dove sellers of the temple were the holders of the same sort of privilege, and their practice of extortion was what Jesus of Nazareth condemned. The publicans collected the taxes on a contract, and it was their practice of extortion that was in the mind of John when he warned their committee, "Exact no more than is appointed you." The feudal system was but a farming out of the executive authority, and the restrictions laid by Magna Charta on the feudal fees are the evidence of its extortionate abuses. The farmers-general of the revenue were the chief provocative of the French Revolution. The payment of public officers by fees to-day is the same sort of evil, and the never-ending complaint of improper charges reflects the invariable consequence of the farming out of public duties. The building of highways is a governmental function, and there never was a turnpike system in the world that did not provoke to riot in the end. The utter and ludicrous failure of the effort to regulate railroad charges or prevent extortion and discrimination in their rates will some day bring us to understand that there is no right way to regulate transportation charges except by government operation. The ridiculously tragic extortions in the hyrdo-electric monopolies warn us that natural powers belong to all the people and cannot safely be intrusted to the privileged.

Pizarro and Cortez waged war for their government on contract, and the unspeakable barbarities of their expeditions were but a disguised phase of the inevitable extortions of all such follies.

The undeniable piracy of privateering has at last compelled civilized government to put a stop to it, just as the superlative folly of extortionate charges under express franchises has finally forced the mild reform of the parcel post,

and will certainly in a little while put an end to telephone and telegraph monopolies.

There is no more reason for delegating the executive duties of transportation or of naval warfare upon contract than there is for enslaving the inept, or farming out the labor of criminals, or conducting almshouses on a bargain. And if we can rightly grant a franchise for exploiting the natural water powers of the land, which is but a normal administrative function, there is no reason why we may not create a corporation to make the laws. If we can grant to a justice of the peace the franchise to decide small lawsuits and levy a tax himself upon the litigants for his compensation, there is just as good reason for entering into a bargain with a guild of lawyers to conduct the operations of the Supreme Court.

At last, it all comes down to this, that wheresoever the property of the people, street or park or house, or wheresoever any public function of service or protection holds out an opportunity more advantageous or less expensive for catering to a public want or administering to a public need, and wheresoever there is any public demand or overmastering necessity, the supplying of which affords special opportunity for profit, there also will the seekers after privilege be gathered together. And there it is also that the servants and agents of the people are harassed and their doubts and scruples drugged until they are wearied and cajoled into concession and surrender.

MODERN IDEAS OF ADMINISTRATION IN THE
GOVERNMENT OF WORKHOUSES AND
PENAL INSTITUTIONS

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It is only in recent years that the mass of our people have begun to realize that the methods employed in handling citizens who are so unfortunate as to be committed to the penal and correctional institutions must be humanized. A few of our progressive States, as well as the United States government, are now working under principles as laid down in the indeterminate sentence and parole law that governs their penal institutions, a principle that should be followed by all the States.

The mere enactment of laws, however, will not bring about the desired results upon any proposition. There must be placed in charge of our institutions, after the proper laws have been enacted for the foundation upon which to work, men and women in all departments who are imbued with high ideals and with character so they may stand before these untrained, uneducated, often wicked and vicious, citizens as examples of everything that stands for honor and Christian citizenship, in order that the teachings of Him who shapes the destiny of all men may become the foundation for the punishment and reformation of the inmates of such institutions.

True friendship, love, and a square deal mean much to the class of our unfortunate citizens found in institutions erected and dedicated to their treatment; and when this principle prevails in such institutions ninety per cent of the normal men and boys committed for crimes can be saved to society. In the management of such people the word "punishment," as used in practically all our institutions, should be eliminated. Taking the liberty of an individual by process of law should be the only punishment in a penal or reformatory institution.

The principle that makes the strongest appeal to the manhood of a normal subject while confined is the one that

will bring through his conscience such punishment as will be lasting and effective. Here I want to give a few suggestions that appeal to me as the correct lines along which we should work to bring to society and to the unfortunate fellow, who is called a criminal, results which will redound to the happiness and credit of both.

The highest degree of reformation will not be obtained in our penal and reformatory institutions unless the industry of the normal inmate be such as to train him in a useful trade and enable him to better secure useful and remunerative employment after he has been paroled and discharged.

Reformation cannot be obtained without training in practical farm or shop work and a thorough understanding of obedience to law.

Useful and profitable labor in such institutions is essential to the health of body and mind.

The indeterminate sentence and parole law for workhouse and reformatory are absolutely necessary if permanent results are to be accomplished for reformation.

Workhouse sentences of from fifteen to sixty days, as administered by our police courts, breed vagrancy and crime. The practice should be eliminated by law, giving the police courts power to sentence all cases of vagrancy and violators of minor crimes to the workhouse for not less than sixty days nor more than two years, with the right of the management to parole after sixty days.

It requires time in any institution to bring to bear upon the inmates the necessity of good citizenship; therefore any law that compels the management to discharge the inmate after a short period is a detriment not only to the offender but to society as well.

In a reformatory an inmate should serve from three to five years in order to receive proper discipline, proper moral instruction, proper training in the school of letters, and necessary training in shop work before he is permitted to return to society. No institution can accomplish the best results until it provides the proper means of training its officers in their respective duties. This can best be done by an officers' school, maintained and managed under the direct supervision of the management of the institution.

Reformation follows the substitution of worthy ideals for unworthy ones. Therefore a library of from 3,000 to 10,000 well-selected books is one of the most potent factors in bringing about this substitution. Each inmate should be graded in his reading ability and given only such books as he is able to comprehend.

Degenerates, confirmed criminals, rapists, and abnormal subjects that constitute 50 per cent of our prison and reformatory population should be kept in prison their natural lives, or if released rendered sterile so that further production of their kind should cease.

I am firmly of the opinion that if we have the above suggestions incorporated in laws and rules governing our institutions, with the proper class of men as officers—men who will give the careful thought and study to this question which it deserves, who will create in their departments the proper environment by giving a square deal, by the use of kind words and firm discipline, with the indeterminate sentence and parole law in all our States administered without political pull, so the normal subject can be held a sufficient length of time to become proficient in education and trade—there will be absolutely no real punishment in our institutions in fifty years.

In my judgment the only punishment the State has a right to inflict upon any man is to deprive him of his liberty; and when this is done the more you can make him realize his position as a man and a citizen while in the institution, the more he will realize that there is a place in society for him to fill as an honorable citizen, and therefore the more certain will be his punishment, if we must so term it.

The greatest menace to-day in handling men and boys in our institutions is the law that requires fixed sentences by court or jury. A prisoner so sentenced has no regard for discipline, for society, or for himself, for he knows that no rule of the management can keep him beyond a certain date, and in a very great majority of such cases it is impossible to impress upon such subjects the importance of improving their time while in prison; while if their term is indefinite and their release depends upon their advancement in education and trade they at once, on entering the insti-

tution, begin to improve their condition, physically, mentally, and morally, and at the end of a few years they will become new men. With an opportunity of parole, 90 per cent of all normal subjects will make good.

If there is an important time in the life of a man who has been convicted and sentenced for crime, it is the day he is released from prison. If he is released at the end of a fixed sentence, with no thought while he is in the institution of his education or moral welfare, with no money or friends, with no recommendation from the management, what hope is there for him? Statistics tell us that 75 per cent of such fellows follow the life of vagrants or criminals; while, on the other hand, from our institutions that have the indeterminate sentence and parole law operated with politics eliminated, 90 per cent of all normal subjects return to society as self-supporting and honorable citizens.

The most important question that should be considered to-day by Congress and our legislatures is that of revising our criminal code, more particularly as administered by giving petty offenders short and fixed terms in jail and workhouse. The method of placing charges for vagrancy and petty crimes against the class of unfortunates that fill our jails and workhouses on a fifteen- or thirty-day sentence is an injustice that should no longer be tolerated. Such proceedings are to-day breeding more vagrancy and crime than any environment with which society is afflicted.

In the jails and workhouses of this country there are annually committed on a sentence of not less than fifteen days nor more than thirty days more than 200,000 of our citizens on charges on which the prisoner should have been discharged with a reprimand or a suspended sentence by the court. In the District of Columbia alone the short sentence was given to more than 2,500 people during the past year.

After every effort of the court by reprimand, suspended sentence, etc., has become exhausted and it becomes necessary to sentence such immoral and troublesome creatures, let the sentence be not less than sixty days nor more than two years to the workhouse—never to the jail—giving the management of the institution ample time to clean them up,

teach them industry and such training as will cause them to take a hopeful view of life, and send them back to society useful and respected citizens.

After reprimand and suspended sentences have failed, then we need in our criminal procedure a certainty of conviction. A violator of the law should then be made to understand that he will lose his liberty if he transgresses on forbidden ground. When every opportunity has been given a man and he fails to appreciate it by conducting himself as a law-abiding citizen, then he should be dealt with by the courts quickly, and with no chance through technicality to evade the training and discipline that will be meted out to him on an indefinite sentence in a well-regulated institution under trained and expert management.

On July 1, 1910, the Commissioners of the District of Columbia commenced work on 1,150 acres of land near Occoquan, Va., that in a few years will redound to the credit of those who were pioneers in bringing about the necessary legislation for this institution, known as the District of Columbia Workhouse, and will, I hope, in a few years be known as the District of Columbia Farm.

On this 1,150 acres of land there have been constructed twenty-five buildings, consisting of dormitories, dining rooms, lounging hall, hospital, horse and dairy barn. These are all one-story and constructed of wood with a view of giving ample light and ventilation. Our plan for the prisoner is that of the concrete or dormitory system, having no cells, locks, or bars about the institution. Two hundred prisoners are taken care of during the night in each dormitory; and, as we have six hundred male prisoners, this requires three such buildings. In these dormitories cots are arranged side by side on raised platforms, sufficient bedding (consisting of mattress, sheets, pillows, blankets, and comforts) being given to each prisoner. All the buildings are steam heated and electric lighted and have ample water for sewerage purposes.

During the evening after the day's work is done, and on Sundays, the men are taken to a large building known as the Rest Hall and Library, where they are permitted to talk, play checkers, read the daily newspapers which are brought

for them by the management, and they have access to the library of 3,000 volumes. In summer evenings and on Sundays the inmates are permitted to take the benches out into the yard and enjoy the open air.

In one of the buildings referred to we have a shower bath and arrangements where the inmates make their toilets. In this building 125 men can be taken care of at one time. We have no wash basins, but have a faucet for each man, which makes it more sanitary, and the men are also furnished with individual towels and soap.

The fact that the prisoners are sent to us on short sentences, the time now being from fifteen days to one year, our average sentence being thirty-five days, makes it very necessary and important that the sanitary conditions should be closely looked after, as from 10 to 15 per cent of the prisoners sent us, when received, have vermin on their person. This, however, is looked after so closely that, though we handle from five to six thousand people a year, we are absolutely free from vermin in any of the twenty-five buildings.

In working prisoners we give from fifteen to twenty men to an officer, whose part it is to direct this number in a humane and intelligent manner and to have them understand that it is our purpose to be helpful. With such methods we have very little trouble so far as discipline is concerned. Work on this 1,150 acres of land consists of building roads, constructing buildings, farming, making brick, crushing stone, building and repairing wagons, painting and whitewashing the buildings, poultry-raising, dairy, etc.

At the present time we are working seventy head of horses on the farm. These are all cared for and worked by the inmates without an officer over them, and neither our farm nor buildings are inclosed by so much as a fence. We lose very few prisoners by escaping, less on an average than two per month. Our results show that we get a fair day's work from each of our able-bodied inmates.

I have handled prisoners for the past sixteen years, starting with the old-time methods of having a thirty-foot wall, cells, locks, and bars, with stripes for clothing, and when a prisoner was reported for failure to comply with some order he was taken into a room, his clothing removed,

and he was lashed with a cat-o'-nine-tails by the officer who reported him, and I am convinced that the open-air method, with as few restrictions as possible, will give us better results from the standpoint of discipline and reformation.

We handle our women prisoners from the City of Washington with the same system of buildings as are provided for the men. The female department is managed by women, and the two institutions are some distance apart. The average population of the female department is about one hundred. The women do the laundry work and make the clothing for the population of the two institutions. In addition, a number of them work on the lawn and in the garden, do the painting and other sanitary work about the buildings. The female department, like the male department, has neither cell, lock, nor bar; the buildings are one-story and have neither wall nor fence around them. We have handled more than 1,800 women in the past eighteen months and have lost only three by escaping.

We have very little sickness. Our health record is due to the construction of the buildings, which gives open-air treatment with plenty of sunshine. Ninety-five per cent of our inmates, both male and female, show decided improvement both in their mental and physical condition.

We are expecting to have passed by Congress soon a statute containing the principles of the indeterminate sentence and parole law to govern the time the inmates are to remain with us after they are sentenced.

In the enactment of such a law three distinct departments should be considered: probation, suspension, and indeterminate sentence and parole law.

1. Probation shall provide an officer who shall investigate each person arrested and awaiting trial, and shall give to the court an impartial report and recommend whether the accused shall be paroled or sentenced.

2. If the prisoner is found guilty, sentence may be suspended by the court, but if sentenced, then the indeterminate sentence must apply.

3. When by good conduct, and after being in the institution, the individual shows by his work, energy, and ability that he can stand alone, he should be granted a parole

under the supervision of the management and a place of employment found for him for at least six months, during which time the management should keep in touch with him through an agent of the institution; and after the parole of six months, if his work has been satisfactory, he can be released.

In the short space of two years and six months, with a daily average of four hundred prisoners, more than five hundred acres of land have been cleared ready for cultivation, more than six miles of road built, dormitories and a model dining room for six hundred prisoners erected, also officers' quarters for housing sixty employees, washing and clothing room for six hundred prisoners, lounging room and library to accommodate the number of inmates we now have, and several miles of splendid sewerage constructed. We have now a water system with tanks holding 50,000 gallons of raw water, filtering plant and tank that will filter and hold more than this amount of water each day, a pumping plant built on the banks of the Occoquan River that will deliver to the institution 200,000 gallons of water per day, a steam plant that furnishes steam and hot water for the entire institution, and an electric light plant capable of lighting the buildings and grounds.

More than 10,000 tons of fertilizer have been brought from the City of Washington to enrich the 500 acres of land, much of which will be cultivated this year by the inmates, producing all vegetables necessary for the use of the institution. More than 1,000,000 feet of lumber has been cut with our own sawmill and used in the buildings. Pens to accommodate 250 hogs have been built, also a root cellar that will accommodate thousands of bushels of potatoes and other vegetables has been constructed at practically no cost. Hotbeds to raise tens of thousands of plants for our gardens have been made. A brick plant with a capacity of 40,000 brick daily is in operation. In addition to brick, this plant can supply the City of Washington and the District with paving brick, partition tile, sewer tile, etc.—in fact, we have the machinery and the materials for producing all kinds of clay products. A stone crusher, capable of turning out for the District 200 yards of crushed stone daily, is in operation.

When delivering this material the institution is credited by the department ordering same. Our industries alone will have an earning capacity of at least \$100,000 per annum.

We have completed a barn for the housing of our horses and the storing of forage. This building is 165 feet long and 64 feet wide, consisting of fireproof reënforced cement basement with a capacity for holding eighty head of stock. The second story is for grain, wagons, etc., of a sufficient capacity to accommodate the needs of the institution. In the third story there is room for storing 250 tons of hay. The material in the second and third stories of this building is of lumber, framing, and shingles cut by our own sawmill from timber on the farm. More than 100,000 shingles were required to cover the building. We have been a year building the barn, but the work has all been done by prisoners with the exception of one officer who is a carpenter. This building represents an actual asset of \$15,000 to the District, but has not cost in actual money more than \$4,000.

All labor going into this great amount of work has been done by the inmates of the institution. More than 7,100 male and 1,400 female prisoners have been received since July 1, 1910, all of whom on their discharge had gained from one to fourteen pounds in weight. We have had a death rate of less than one-half of one per cent, with no stone walls, iron bars, or locks, and but few escapes; no dungeons, no corporal punishment, no cursing of prisoners by the officers, while scores of men work each day upon their honor with no officer over them.

While the work of improving this farm at Occoquan goes on from year to year, hundreds of men who are the products of the saloon and immoral resorts in our cities will be given a helping hand with an abundance of fresh air and sunshine while under sentence, will be taught that hard labor and honest toil are profitable to both mind and body, and will be returned to the city with new hope and ambition to become an asset instead of a liability upon the community.

There is nothing like the work test to bring out the best that is in an individual, and it is this system we have inaugurated at the workhouse. With the indeterminate sentence we will steadily and persistently apply the method until we

can determine just when the individual is ready for parole. The fellow who has a constitutional aversion to industry will soon reveal his true character under this form of treatment, so we may easily know him and put him in a class under proper discipline, where he may be self-supporting while in an institution; but if permitted to go at large, after serving a few days under a fixed sentence, he would at all times be a source of annoyance and expense to the community wherever he may go. It is not necessary even with this class of subjects to humiliate or degrade them. It is far better to inspire and encourage them. With an indefinite sentence we will have time to give them a few months of wholesome diet, by which, with regular habits, honest work, sanitary buildings in which to be housed and clean clothing to wear, many of these apparently hopeless subjects can be made into better men and women. It is possible through proper discipline and constant work to arouse in the lowest type of humanity confidence and self-respect.

It was no doubt in the minds of those who are responsible for the establishment of the District of Columbia Workhouse on this 1,150-acre farm that great good would be accomplished for the District as well as for those who were so unfortunate as to be confined here. Statistics gathered from 3,500 unfortunate people sent to us during the year show that their passions, sexuality, gaming, and drinking caused their downfall. There is no treatment so good for the individual who is weak in mind and body from these excesses as the open air, wholesome food, and honest work. Experience teaches that it is next to a crime to turn back to society these weakened unfortunates at the expiration of a fifteen or thirty days' sentence, as is now being done in more than 2,000 cases each year. The principle of operating a penal institution under this law is no longer a theory, and States should not hesitate to place such laws upon their statute books.

The time is coming when the District of Columbia Farm will be self-supporting, if not more. When it is, I believe an appropriation should be provided whereby the dependent families of the inmates, whether they be sent to us because of non-support or other violation of the statutes, should be

paid a sum sufficient to provide in a comfortable manner for their support during the confinement of the offenders. If such a system were inaugurated, the financial benefit received by the family would only be a secondary consideration. The greater benefit would be the lasting impression made on the individual while at the institution, developing in him industrial habits and self-confidence which would help him to become a self-supporting citizen and capable of caring for his family after his release. This certainly would be true in 60 per cent of the cases we have, if there can be brought about a change in the penal code of the District, having the inmates committed on an indeterminate sentence rather than on a fixed sentence as is now being given.

In conclusion, if these desired results are ever obtained in the handling of unfortunates, it will be through right treatment. There must be thorough investigation before the stain of a prison sentence is passed. In a great per cent of the cases of minor offenses, rather than give them a workhouse sentence, these unfortunates require nothing more than dismissal with a friendly word and encouragement from the court; or if in the judgment of the court they need supervision, then they should be turned over to a practical probation officer, who will see to it that it is not necessary to commit them to prison. Many of the cases that come to the police and criminal court for minor offenses only require supervision, change of surroundings, and a new home. Institutional treatment should be the last remedy. What we must do is to abolish the fixed sentence and to de-institutionalize our institutions, and finally these people must be made to feel, whether in an institution or out of one, that they are working for home-making. Our endeavor should be also to shorten the stay in the institution and lengthen the period of probation.

THE TREATMENT OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS
AND THE WORK OF THE JUVENILE COURT

HON. MORNAY WILLIAMS, NEW YORK CITY

FROM the very earliest times, and in more than one jurisdiction, it has been recognized that there is an age below which human responsibility does not exist. In civilized society there has been, under the influence largely of Christianity, a constant tendency to raise the age at which to ascribe responsibility for acts which, in those of full age and development, involve moral delinquency and, in many cases, an infraction of human law. In our own times it is beginning to be recognized that for the vast majority of children the fact that they have committed a breach of human law does not necessarily indicate moral delinquency. It rather indicates the kind of training, or lack of training, that led the child to break human law by following the natural lines of its own development, because of its training, or lack of training. In other words, the infraction of law, as far as most children are concerned, is not a moral delinquency at all, but a mistake, resulting from improper or inadequate training.

The vast majority of so-called juvenile delinquents—boys and girls who have been brought before the courts for the infraction of law—are inhabitants of large towns or cities, and in most cases are themselves the products of the industrial and social life of those towns or cities. The cases in which children from the country districts are brought before the courts for the infraction of law are far fewer in number, largely for the reason, not that country children are morally vastly superior to city children, but that the conditions of life and up-bringing in the country districts are such as to save children, or at least safeguard them, from the temptations to the infraction of law to which the city child is necessarily exposed. But the city child is himself the product largely of his environment. Particularly is this true of the poor children in the uncared-for districts

of a town, or of the child of the operative in a mining camp, a lumber camp, or a manufacturing town. The ordinary life which the young child needs for the expression of his physical self—the open-air life, the opportunity for running and playing, which he needs, in common with the young of any animal—is denied to the city child. He is placed in a locality which prevents his natural expansion. He is hemmed in by regulations which are imperfectly understood by him, and little respected even by the adults with whom he is most closely brought into contact. The ordinary laws of hygiene are defied in the home in which he lives. Carelessness as to cleanliness, and sometimes as to decency, is the ordinary habit of many of those with whom he is thrown in contact. He is left to find his own amusements among the chance companions of his own age. In places that are not primarily intended for recreation—namely, the public streets and highways—if he violates the city ordinances, or even if he appropriates to himself the contents of a peddler's cart or a groceryman's sidewalk display, he is not conscious of any moral obliquity; and, for the most part, neither the companions of his own age nor his associates of greater age regard the act in the light of a crime, but rather as a smart performance. In other words, it is the lack of education that brings young lawbreakers under the eye of the law and subjects them to its penalties.

Bearing this fundamental fact in mind, it ought to be clear that the reasons for the arrest and arraignment of the child lawbreaker are to be found quite as much in the *neglect of society* as in the voluntary wrongdoing of the accused. For that reason it should be the aim of lawgivers and those who are intrusted with the administration of law to treat the child lawbreaker in a different manner from that properly meted out to the willful criminal. In the treatment of child offenders, not only must society and those who propose reforms in the laws that govern society keep in mind the character of the offender, but also the ultimate purpose of human law. What that purpose is or what the duty of the administrator of human law is, was best expressed centuries ago by a writer whose very identity is

now a matter of speculation. In the library of Cambridge University, England, there is a manuscript, once belonging to the monks of the Priory of Luffield, and which the late Frederic William Maitland ascribes to a certain Brother John of Oxford, a monk in that priory, written probably about 1280, in which he sets forth not only some of the precedents which should guide justices in administering their office, but also some statement of the more fundamental principles underlying such precedents, and even the translation from the barbarous law Latin, in which he wrote, cannot hide the dignity or universal applicability of the ideals he presents.

Also he (the judge) should know that to the best of his power he ought to determine all suits justly and speedily and cause all defaults to be amended, which are within his power, and patiently hear the complaints of all plaintiffs and maintain the poor, nor for price, nor gift, nor for hope of gain, should he do wrong to any or judge amiss, but he should be true in word, just in judgment, wise in council, faithful in trust, strenuous in (deed), eminent in kindness, and excellent in all honorableness of life, for thus he may render to Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's and to God the things that be God's, and his judgment shall endure forever, and his name shall be in praise, and so from his little balliwick he shall be transferred to a kingdom by Him who taketh the needy from the dust and lifteth up the poor out of the mire, and so he may sit with princes and hold a throne of glory.

The more than six hundred years that have elapsed since these words were written cannot conceal their applicability; but, alas! the history of the intervening centuries has shown how little they have been heeded. It is scarcely more than two hundred years ago since there were one hundred and eighty-seven different offenses in England punishable by death, and a writer, writing less than one hundred years ago on the workings of the Old Bailey—namely, about the year 1833—says of his time:

We are, probably, the first and only nation on the face of the earth who, in the adult, punish the crimes done in infancy. The Old Bailey Court, however, in proportion to the numbers, as often sentences boys as men to transportation for fourteen years and life. For one prisoner I felt very much, who was sent for the latter term; he was under thirteen years of age, and not a known offender; his crime was stealing his companion's hat while they were looking at a puppet

show. The unfortunate boy says "he knocked it off in fun," and that some other person must have found it. He was not taken up until the following day, and the hat was never produced. The policeman who took him into custody resided next door to the prisoner's mother, and was heard to say, "the boy had thrown stones at him, and that he would give him a lift." I know not what he said on the trial, but such was his heavy sentence. The mother was a widow, and he was her only son. I shall never forget her distress and agony of feeling when she heard his fate. Nothing can be more absurd than the practice of passing sentence of death on boys under fourteen years of age for petty offenses. I have known five in one session in this awful situation; one for stealing a comb almost valueless, two for a child's sixpenny story-book, another for a man's stock, and the fifth for pawning his mother's shawl. In four of these cases the boys put their hands through a broken pane of glass in a shop-window and stole the articles for which they were sentenced to death, and subsequently transported for life. This act, in legal technicality, is housebreaking. The law presumes they break the glass, and it is probable in most instances they do so. In two of the cases here named, however, the prosecutrix's daughter told me there was only a piece of brown paper to supply the place of that which once had been glass. In the latter case, the unfortunate mother caused her son to be apprehended, in the hopes of persuading the magistrate to recommend him to the Refuge for the Destitute, or some other charitable institution. She, however, in the course of her examination, said she was from home, and that the house was locked up at the time of the shawl being taken, which was afterwards found at a pawnbroker's. This made it housebreaking; and, in spite of all the mother's efforts, he was condemned to death. He is now in the penitentiary. The judges who award the punishments at the Old Bailey appear to me as if they were under the influence of sudden impulses of severity, there being at no time any regular system to be recognized in their proceedings. This the prisoners know, and speculate on, particularly the boys.*

From these two extracts, separated by half a millennium, the divergence between known duty and actual practice is strikingly evident. Now, it must be as evident to all of us here that our law in this country has been derived from the mother country, England, and has until very recent times, at least, partaken of the disparity between precept and practice thus strikingly shown. We say that we sit in the

*Extracts from "Old Bailey Experiences, A Treatise on Criminal Jurisprudence and the Actual Working of Penal Code of Laws." By the author of "The Schoolmaster's Experience in Newgate." Published in London by James Fraser. 1833.

seats of the mighty, administering justice, and we actually bring the penalty of our own neglect, ignorance, and sin on the young children. True, there is no longer transportation. True, sentence for life is not pronounced now on boys and girls of twelve and fourteen; but, until very recently—indeed, until the establishment of the so-called Juvenile Court—the law of the land scarcely recognized the difference between the non-responsibility of childhood and the responsibility of age.

To-day the Children's Court has come into existence in certain sections. Its history is too short to draw very certain conclusions. In its very nature it is so far an institution personal to the judge who holds it that the diversity of its operations in different localities is very great. The theory, however, of the Juvenile Court is, first, the recognition that children are not to be judged in the same way as adults, and that they are not to be mingled with adults on trial. The Juvenile Court, therefore, is a special court for the trial of children brought up by the officers of the peace as lawbreakers, and its first requirement is that the children should be disassociated from adult criminals, disassociated in their custody until tried, and disassociated in the method of trial.

Next, the Juvenile Court is the recognition of the fact that, instead of seeking to punish an offender, the object of the arrest and arraignment of a child lawbreaker is to advise with him as to the causes of the alleged offense, to ascertain how his mind worked—why he did what he did; and if he has done that which is unlawful, instead of punishing him for it, to place him in such a position that a repetition of the offense would be rendered unlikely. Along with this thought goes the suggestion, following on the conditions before alluded to, that in many cases his offense has arisen from lack of proper training and improper companionship. Therefore in almost all juvenile courts there has grown up the cognate office of the probation officer (an official under the supervision of the magistrate who holds the court), who makes himself the elder brother, as it were—the counselor and friend—of the young lawbreaker, who

is placed on probation, and who is not held or punished for this offense, but sent back to his home, there to resume his life and ordinary occupation under the watchful care of the probation officer. It is difficult to speak too highly of the results achieved in hundreds and thousands of cases by this course of treatment. Many a boy, where the lapse has been but temporary and where the home conditions are in the main good, can be returned to his home, and, under the watchful care of such a probation officer, grow up to useful manhood.

On the other hand, there is danger in relying too much on the probation officer as the only instrumentality through which the Children's Court finds its opportunity for usefulness. In too many cases the home from which the child lawbreaker comes is only a home in name. The father may be dead or a criminal. The mother may be the breadwinner of the family, and therefore unable to perform that highest office of motherhood, the supervision and tender oversight of her own children. The only place in which the boy finds opportunity for play may be the crowded street or the steps of a slum tenement. Under such circumstances it is idle to suppose that the weekly visits of a probation officer, however wise, can offset the evil example and the evil companionship of the street.

In the first place, the young boy offender finds his associates of his own age more appealing than the grave-faced man, or even the gently bred woman who may be his supervising friend. To him the excitement of the street life—the bravado of a gang—has a certain stimulus that quite outweighs the serious advice of the probation officer. In such cases the wise judge will seek to find an institution which may serve as a school, and will take the boy out of the home surroundings and put him in a good school. Even among those who are interested in the work of the Children's Court there is a tendency to overlook to-day the office of the school. After all, the largest influence in shaping a child's life is the teaching of companionship, and that companionship must necessarily be, to a very great extent, the companionship of boys of his own age. Here comes in the work of the

boarding school. Just as in England the explanation of the success of England as a colonizing nation, in sending forth her young men to become rulers and leaders among people of alien speech and color all over the world, is to be found in the public schools of England, those little republics where, in boyhood, the great lessons of manliness, courage, truthfulness, and patient industry were first learned; so, in the solution of the problem of the juvenile offender, there must be a place given to the work of the boys' school, and a very high and honorable place. The State reformatory or the city disciplinary school ought to be one of the greatest, best-administered, and well-ordered institutions of the State or the municipality.

The young English poet Henry Newbolt, himself a graduate of Clifton School, has illustrated what the school spirit can be in more than one of his poems, and the following lines set forth a principle which ought to be applied to the problem of the juvenile offender:

The sand of the desert is sodden red,
 Red with the wreck of a square that broke;
 The Gatlin's jammed and the colonel dead,
 And the regiment blind with dust and smoke;
 The river of death has brimmed its banks,
 And England is far, and honor a name;
 But the voice of a schoolboy rallies the ranks:
 "Play up, play up, and play the game."

This is the word that, year by year,
 While in her place the school is set,
 Every one of her sons must hear,
 And none that hears it dares forget;
 This they all with a joyful mind
 Bear through life like a torch in flame,
 And, falling, fling to the host behind:
 "Play up, play up, and play the game."

How far this can be accomplished time must show; but, unless the men and women of to-day grapple with the problem of the juvenile offender in the spirit of these lines of Newbolt's, the next era of our country's history will be a more perplexed and troubled one than that in which we are now living. We cannot open the portals of the future "with the past's blood-rusted key." Severity of punishment will

not make boys into good citizens. The just, fair, firm, gentle hand of the teacher, who is at the same time a friend, the companionship of other boys who are learning in the same school the same lessons, must be had, if the boys of another day, coming from the ever-increasingly populous cities of our land, are to be the builders of a nobler State and the architects of a grander civic life.

IS CAPITAL PUNISHMENT JUSTIFIED?

F. EMORY LYON, SUPERINTENDENT OF CENTRAL HOWARD
ASSOCIATION, CHICAGO

FORTY States out of the forty-eight in the Union provide for the legal execution of capital offenders. In nine of these States the victim is dispatched by the modern scientific method of electrocution. In thirty-one States hanging is practiced. This is done by the county officials in sixteen, and at the State penitentiary in fifteen States. The cross of ancient origin has not survived in any American commonwealth, beheading is in bad taste, the pillory is passe, and in none are men hurried hence according to the Mexican method "while trying to escape."

Estimates from twenty-six States reporting the number of executions for 1912 show that there were nearly or quite 100 men who paid the extreme penalty of the law in the United States. Eight States are upon the roll of those having abolished capital punishment. They are: Michigan in 1846, Wisconsin in 1853, Rhode Island in 1852, Maine in 1876, Kansas in 1907, New Hampshire and Minnesota in the intervening time, and finally Washington within the past month. Two or three States having abolished capital punishment have restored it in name, though scarcely at all in practice. On the other hand, several States providing for capital punishment by statute have had no executions in many years, in one case not since 1893. In Belgium,

where capital punishment is statutory, no executions have taken place since 1863, nor in Finland since 1826.

The question arises as to whether these latter States have been justified in their action and as to whether the remaining States of the Union should join them, or continue in the execution of capital offenders.

The continuance of capital punishment is often defended, doubtless, with most worthy motives. At the bottom of each contention, however, we are apt to discover something of the sediment of the world-old spirit of retaliation and revenge. According to the old order, the law declared the forfeiture of a life for a life. The criminal code of the past and of the present is based upon the ancient decalogue. Two thousand years of the new dispensation have not been sufficient to eliminate the principle of punishment or make it conform to the law of nonresistance to evil.

That the latter accords with the wisdom of the wise and the statesmanship of America's founders may be gathered from this statement by Benjamin Franklin: "Laws which inflict death for murder are, in my mind, as unchristian as those which justify or tolerate revenge." Horace Greeley, a later political prophet of power, says: "My objections to capital punishment may be summed up in a few words. They are: First, I hate vengeance. If I am ever revengeful, I hate myself for being so. Vengeance is a barbarous, cruel, malignant passion, which I would not teach to my children nor to any children. The gallows does teach it; always did teach it; always will teach it. Second, I dread human fallibility. Men are prejudiced, passionate, and too often irrational. I would save them from the harsher consequences of their own frenzy. So long as man is liable to error I would have him reserve the possibility of correcting his mistake and redressing the wrong he is misled into perpetrating."

A study of the facts and a deeper understanding of the psychology of conduct would indicate that there is nothing more than a supposition in the belief that great severity of punishment will control the extent or degree of crime. History and science refute the contention.

A little over one hundred years ago, for example, the English code contained 223 crimes punishable by death. It is said, nevertheless, that the pickpockets found the richest harvest in the crowds which gathered to see the members of their own craft put to death. In England during the three years preceding the abolishment of capital punishment for cattle-stealing there were 113 convictions. For the following three years there were 67 convictions. Again, on June 21, 1887, ten men were hanged in Pennsylvania for murderous conspiracy. The following day the *New York Herald* said: "We may be certain that the pitiless severity of the law will deter the most wicked from anything like the imitation of this crime." Notwithstanding this prophecy, however, no less than eight of those engaged in the prosecution of this case were assassinated within fifteen days after the wholesale execution.

If capital punishment is really a deterrent, then why should not England and the United States continue to have its executions in public in order to impress the populace? As a matter of fact, that practice was discontinued because of its unwholesome influence upon many of the spectators. In this the governments were consistent and in accordance with the well-known principles of modern psychology. As a matter of fact, all executions, though not visible, are now more public than ever through the universal press. Observers have frequently noted that particular kinds of crime have been imitated in time and place with well-nigh mathematical certainty. Likewise the morbid heroics surrounding the execution of an offender are certain to awaken the desire for imitation in the very type we seek to impress by this form of punishment. The enormous possibilities for harm in this direction are multiplied by the fact that executions take place in penal institutions, either local or State. Let no one imagine that this serves as a warning to the inmates of these institutions or that they are unmindful of the occurrence. On the contrary, no one can estimate the criminal impulses and the rebellious spirit awakened in the minds and hearts of all those who partake of the atmosphere of the hour.

In the States where capital punishment is inflicted for the largest number of crimes there is not only the greatest number of murders, but an equally proportionate increase in the number of lynchings. There is no better evidence that force begets force and brutality begets brutality than the astonishing number of murders in the South, where punishment by death is most common.

In the Southern States for the year 1906 there were 3,914 murders, in the Central States there were 2,843, while in the New England States, which have a more dense and numerous population, there occurred only 254 capital offenses. That lawful killing goes hand in hand with lynching is indicated by the fact that in the fifteen years preceding 1906 two of the States having no capital punishment did not have a lynching, and only seven lynchings occurred in all other States with laws against capital punishment. During the same fifteen years Georgia, with her ten offenses punishable with death, had 172 lawful executions and 237 lynchings; Texas had 140 legal executions and 143 lynchings; Alabama had 119 legal executions and 206 lynchings; Mississippi had 97 legal executions and 249 lynchings. In the eighteen years from 1885 to 1903 there were in the United States 2,875 lynchings, distributed as follows: The Southern States 2,499, the Western States 312, the Pacific Slope 63, and the Eastern States 11. These facts show that six times as many lynchings occurred in the South as in all the rest of the country.

It is here that the student of history will find the most overwhelming condemnation of capital punishment, inasmuch as the State, by resorting to the extreme form of violence, teaches her uneducated and thoughtless millions that the solution of social questions is to be found, not in the use of intelligence, but in the direct action of force. A further defeat of society's purpose in defending itself is found in the fact that, because of the growing consciousness of the sacredness of human life, juries are increasingly reluctant to vote a conviction where capital punishment is possible or inevitable. This fact was clearly shown in an article by Mr. Maynard Shipley in the *American Law Review* for

May and June, 1909. In this article we learn the following striking and interesting facts:

The abolition of capital punishment in Wisconsin as early as 1853 was largely due to the extreme difficulty experienced in securing convictions in murder trials. This is attested by a letter addressed to Mr. John Bright, M. P., from the pen of Gov. J. E. Lewis, written in 1864, in which he stated: "The great aversion of many to the taking of life, rendering it almost impossible to obtain jurors from the more intelligent portion of the community, the liability of the innocent to suffer so extreme a penalty and be beyond the reach of pardoning power, and the disposition of courts and juries not to convict convinced me that this relic of barbarism should be abolished."

Of nine States from which statistics of indictments and convictions for murder in the first degree could be obtained for a period of three years, Wisconsin showed the highest proportion of convictions to prosecutions—namely, 40.5 per cent. During the same period, in Idaho, of twenty-one persons indicted for murder in the first degree, not a single one was convicted as charged.

As early as 1869 Hon. Thomas B. Reed delivered a speech before the Maine Legislature asking for the abolition of the death penalty, on the ground that though capital punishment was not an effective measure for prevention of crime, it was all too efficient as a preventive of convictions. It was not, however, until after the erroneous conviction of Slain and Cromwell, who had been sentenced for murder which some one else had perpetrated, that public opinion in Maine became thoroughly enough aroused on the question to cause the abolition of the death penalty in 1876. Official statistics, compiled by the Attorney-General, show that of 227 persons on trial for homicide during the seventeen years, 1860-1876, thirty-five only, or 15.4 per cent, were convicted; while during a period of twenty years subsequent to the abolishment of capital punishment, the proportion of convictions to prosecutions rose to 64.5 per cent. This record may be better appreciated when it is stated that in the United States Court the ratio of convictions to trials for homicide averaged but 16.6 per cent during the three years ending with 1892. In the State and Federal Courts of the entire United States convictions follow homicide in about 25 per cent of cases reported.

Mr. Brooks Adams has said: "If you can hang criminals, doubtless it is a good thing; but the difficulty arises when you can't." Likewise of the Massachusetts situations, Mr. Justice O. W. Holmes said: "The difficulty here is that when it is a question of inflicting death a large number of the community are eager to prevent it, with the result that those who wish to see the law enforced seem like a cruel

crowd turned out with guns to pursue a wretched sparrow." All of which would indicate that capital punishment is not in keeping with the highest conscience of any community.

Nor should we be alarmed at this lest murder may become rampant. As a matter of fact, the figures all go to show that there has been no increase in serious crimes in the States where capital punishment has been abolished. On the contrary, the figures indicate a much smaller per cent of murders in all such States than in those continuing the practice. Reliable statistics for 1904 record two murders in Maine to 100,000 of the population; in Rhode Island there were 6, in Michigan 29, in Wisconsin 16. During the same period in New York State there were 91 murders to 100,000 of the population, in Pennsylvania 126, in Georgia 146, in Mississippi 138, in Louisiana 154, in Washington 17, in California 75, and in Arizona 25. In other words the highest per cent of murders to 100,000 of the population in any one of the non-capital punishment States was 1.3 per cent, while the smallest per cent in the States enforcing capital punishment was 1.2 per cent and the highest 18.2 per cent. These figures are fully substantiated by leading authorities in the States where capital punishment is no longer practiced.

Gov. Austin Blair, of Michigan, stated: "Before the abolition of the death penalty murders were not infrequent, but convictions were rarely or never obtained. Convictions and punishment are now much more certain than before the change was made. The reform has been successfully tried and is no longer an experiment." The late Professor T. M. Cooley, formerly Justice of the Supreme Bench of Michigan and later Dean of the State University Law School, has this to say on the subject of the death penalty: "This State has dispensed with it for a third of a century, and I can only say of the result that, in my opinion, human life within its jurisdiction has been at least as secure against criminal assaults as in any of the adjacent States where the death penalty has been retained. The fear of the penalty, in my opinion, deters persons from taking life in very rare and peculiar cases only, if in any, and the

greater certainty of conviction and punishment when imprisonment is substituted fully counterbalances any benefit that can come from fear. Mankind are not to be impressed with the priceless value of existence by spectacles of deliberate executions. With every public execution life is regarded more lightly, and, indeed, all executions are now made through the press as public as possible, so that each in its effect upon society is almost as pernicious as the criminal it assumes to punish."

In 1864 Governor Lewis, of Wisconsin, wrote: "The great aversion of many to the taking of life, and the disposition of courts and juries not to convict, convince me that this relic of barbarism should be abolished." After its continued experience of more than one-half a century without capital punishment, the Secretary of the State Board of Control writes me as follows: "Since the abolishment of capital punishment in this State there has never been any sentiment in favor of restoring it. In fact, we do not believe that any bill has ever been introduced into the legislature to have capital punishment restored. The people of the State of Wisconsin do not believe that the State should legalize the taking of human life. Neither do we believe that the mere legalizing of the taking of a human life relieves the person who acts as executioner of the moral responsibility of the taking of such life. We believe that whenever an execution takes place it has a very demoralizing effect upon the community in which it takes place, and that it has a demoralizing effect upon the State generally."

In our application of the law, therefore, we have practically unconsciously violated both the spirit and the letter. For instance, the law provides that the taking of human life by the individual is justified only in self-defense. This applies to occasions when one's life is in imminent danger. If one has his antagonist in control and beneath his feet, he would not be justified in proceeding to slay. Nevertheless, this is precisely what the State does to the offender who is in custody and fully under its control. Though manifestly master of the situation, the State proceeds to execute its enemy. This situation has been clearly stated

by no less a statesman than Charles Sumner, who says: "My opinions on the subject of capital punishment have often been declared and are in print. The right to take a life stands simply on the overruling necessity of self-defense, in the State as in the individual man; for no combination of men can have higher rights in this respect than the individual. If the individual man can defend himself without taking life, he is bound to do so; and this is the limitation imposed by natural law and reason upon the State. Now, nothing is clearer than that whatever may have been the exigencies of other days, the time has gone by when the life of a State can be saved only by taking life. Every execution now seems like a confession of weakness, if not of cowardice."

It may not be generally known that while a small per cent of those convicted for crimes of violence are lacking in self-control and should not be at large, on the other hand, the great majority of life prisoners are of stronger character than the petty offender. A well-disposed employer, who had been a prison contractor, once told me that he would rather employ a man who had been convicted of murder than one who had been a petty thief. An investigation conducted by the Superintendent of Prisons in New York State showed two interesting facts. In the first place, a larger per cent of life prisoners were first offenders than those convicted of other crimes, and a smaller per cent of life men who had been pardoned had returned to crime than those who had been paroled after serving short sentences.

In the States providing for the parole of life prisoners such clemency is usually granted after the expiration of a period of from twenty to thirty years and after careful consideration by the Board of Pardons or Control. Many have come to realize that whatever good purpose may be accomplished by imprisonment, that object is realized after a reasonable number of years. A longer imprisonment can only serve to unfit the prisoner for natural, normal citizenship.

This phase of the subject is well summed up as follows by Wendell Phillips: "Time sentences should be abolished.

A man should be restrained until he is fit again to mingle in society; no matter how long an imprisonment that may require, or how trivial the offense. The gallows, therefore, I abolish altogether. It never could have been defended except upon the ground of absolute necessity in order to protect society. It would be absurd to make any such plea for it now, since we all know that, with the resources of modern times, we can keep a man within four walls as long as we see fit. That guards the community; and we have no right to punish him in order to deter others from following in his footsteps. The moment a man violates law he forfeits his civil rights; this gives society the right, and imposes upon it the duty, of subjecting him to the best moral influences it can command, as long as is needed to make him a good citizen. This is all the right society acquires over him, and this does not justify the gallows."

It would be well-nigh impossible to find any writer whose name has come down through the centuries, or who has achieved the distinction of international fame, who has not spoken with emphasis against capital punishment. Cicero said: "Away with the executioner and the execution and the very name of its engine. Even the mere mention of them is unworthy of a Roman citizen and a free man." Victor Hugo holds civilized nations to scorn in this language: "The law that dips its finger in human blood to write the commandment, 'Thou shalt not murder,' is naught but an example of legal transgression against the precept itself." Lafayette left us this determination: "I shall ask for the abolition of the death penalty until I have the infallibility of human nature demonstrated to me."

Dr. Benjamin Rush believed: "The power over human life is the sole prerogative of Him who gave it. Human laws, therefore, are in rebellion against this prerogative when they submit it to human hands. I have said nothing of the punishment of death for murder, because I consider it an improper punishment for any offense." John G. Whittier is in harmony with this chorus of believers in the sacredness of human life. He said: "I have given the subject of capital punishment much consideration, and have

no hesitation in saying that I do not regard the death penalty essential to the security and well-being of society; on the contrary, I believe that its total abolition, and the greater certainty of conviction which would follow, would tend to diminish rather than increase the crimes it is intended to prevent." Once again we have the word of William Cullen Bryant: "I am heartily with you, as you know, in your warfare against the barbarous practice of punishment by death; and my prayer is that your labors may be crowned with perfect success. Sooner or later I am confident that the infliction of the death penalty of the law will become as obsolete through the civilized world as torture by the rack."

To this distinguished list and to the same purport might be added the names of Alice Carey, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Henry Ward Beecher, Henry W. Longfellow, Father Mathews, Roscoe Conkling, Horatio Seymour, United States Supreme Court Justice Samuel F. Miller, Hon. Thomas B. Reed, United States Senator John Sherman, and Robert Ingersoll.

We have considered this subject from the standpoint of statistics and in its relation to the prevention of crime. We have regarded the judgment of men who may not be charged with sentimentality, but who have been eminent judges, executives, scientists, and authors. We have not counted the infinite value of the human lives sacrificed by capital punishment in the United States in a century, or a decade, or even a single year. We have not estimated the waste of human energy which might be applied to legitimate occupations by these our fellow men, or of that larger number of lives segregated from human society by life imprisonment. We have not calculated the baneful influence which must necessarily come from the taking of human life, not only upon the public, but upon the official executioners, upon the relatives of the victim, and upon those who by their testimony have made this form of punishment possible. These latter must be considered whether they come to regret it, or still more certainly if the feeling of revenge is perpetuated within them. In short, to determine

within our own minds as to whether capital punishment is justified, we have only to ask what would happen in human society if the golden rule were really, actually, and immediately applied in its relation to this question. To ask that question sincerely, conscientiously, and prayerfully is, I believe, to say that the taking of human life cannot commend itself, under any circumstances, to a Christian people.

NEEDED REFORMS IN CRIMINAL PROCEDURE

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DURING the last few years a great deal of interest has been aroused in this country in the reform of criminal procedure. It has become evident that there is great need for such reform, because many trials are prolonged much beyond a reasonable length to the inconvenience of most of the persons involved and at the expense of the State, while there is good reason to believe that some guilty persons escape punishment as a result of technicalities in procedure. Such a condition of affairs is certain to stimulate the increase of crime.

A general simplification of the existing procedure is needed. Its present complexity is due largely to the effort to protect the accused. Such effort is justifiable up to a certain point, because it is of the greatest importance that no innocent person shall be convicted. But when carried beyond this point it becomes a shield and cloak for the guilty under which some of them will escape punishment. This has been illustrated in numerous cases where a conviction has been reversed because of the omission of a word in an indictment or a similar unimportant error. Such miscarriages of justice have caused a lack of confidence in the courts, have increased the amount of crime, and have encouraged the rise of lynch law. In order to avoid such

miscarriages of justice the forms for the indictment and the information should be made as brief and simple as possible so as to reduce the possibility of error to a minimum. This has been done in England, and there is no reason why these documents should not be quite as simple in this country.

Furthermore, the prosecuting of crimes could be made much less cumbersome by making it possible to prosecute in the case of most, if not all, felonious offenses, by means of an information prepared by a prosecuting officer instead of an indictment. Thus would be swept away the cumbersome method of indicting by a grand jury. In fact, this reform has already been effected in a number of States and should be adopted by all. It may appear that by abolishing the grand jury an important protection for the innocent will be destroyed. But sufficient protection will, I believe, still remain. In the first place, in every case there should be a preliminary examination and commitment by an examining magistrate. Then if the case is very weak the prosecuting officer will be almost certain to dismiss rather than take the chances of defeat in a trial. The grand jury has been regarded with a great deal of veneration in the past, but the examinations made by it are so brief and superficial that it is doubtful if it has ever been very efficient in its work of selecting out the cases to be tried, and this work can be done quite as effectively and much more promptly by examining magistrates and prosecuting officers. And this is a very important gain, for the necessity of waiting for an examination by the grand jury has frequently resulted in long delays in bringing cases to trial.

In the English common law the accused was not required to testify. This provision was supposed to be for the protection of the accused, because if he did not testify he could not incriminate himself. More recently the accused has testified if he chose to do so, but has had the right to refuse, and the law has provided that such refusal should not have any weight with the jury and judge. Now it is very evident that the testimony of the accused is of great value in every case, and in the interests of justice it should

be introduced. The accused should be required to testify; or, at any rate, if permitted to refuse, such refusal should have weight with the jury and judge. It is doubtful if making this change would remove any justifiable protection from the accused, for if he is innocent his testimony should help rather than injure his cause, while if he is guilty there is no reason why he should not incriminate himself.

In the common law there developed for the protection of the accused the presumption of innocence. On the Continent there has never been any such presumption or any other presumption, though many people seem to think that there is a presumption of guilt. And it would certainly appear as if there is no need for any presumption whatever, or at any rate for no presumption which will have any practical effect upon the procedure. But this has been the fault of the common law presumption of innocence that it has strengthened too much the position of the accused and has made it very difficult to convict the guilty. It would therefore be well if this presumption could be abolished, at any rate so far as it affects procedure, if not entirely from the theory of the law.

The power of the trial judge should be greater in conducting the trial, in summing up the evidence, and in commenting upon it before the jury. The judge ought to be able to put a stop to arguments which do not affect the material point at issue but which sometimes serve the purposes of counsel who wish to delay the course of the trial and to introduce errors which will furnish the basis for appeals later on. The judges cannot, or at any rate do not, interfere very much to stop such arguments, because the spirit of the common law was to regard a trial as a contest between the two sides over which the judge was to preside simply as an impartial arbiter. In like fashion the judge should be able to sum up the evidence and comment on it more freely before the jury. The judges have a good deal of power along all these lines in England. But in this country, and the same is true on the Continent, the tendency has been to limit the power of the judge for fear of his influencing the jury too much. It is, of course, true

that this may sometimes happen. But as a rule the jury will make a better decision if it is aided by the superior knowledge and experience of the judge, and it is a pity that this knowledge and experience should not be used more in arriving at a decision.

When the jury was first introduced on the Continent in France, immediately after the French Revolution, an important change was made in its mode of rendering a decision. In England unanimity was needed for a verdict, but in France and elsewhere on the Continent this was changed to a three-fourths majority. The same change has now been made in some of our States for certain kinds of cases. The unanimous verdict was another of the safeguards for the accused. But certain evils have resulted from it. It frequently happens that one or two jurors cannot agree with the rest, and the consequence is that no verdict is arrived at and usually another trial has to take place. Thus the decision is greatly delayed and sometimes is never reached, while the time of the courts and of all those involved is wasted. It certainly ought to be a sufficient safeguard to the accused in most if not all cases to require that as many as three-fourths of the jurors believe him to be guilty, while to require a unanimous verdict gives the accused an unfair advantage.

The right of appeal is now being greatly abused in this country. A large percentage of criminal as well as civil cases are appealed, and many of them are reversed upon purely technical grounds which do not affect the merits of the case. Many of these appeals are on errors in rulings on rules of order which should not usually be reviewable because they do not usually affect the substantial points at issue. But in most jurisdictions the rules of procedure largely based upon previous decisions are such that any of these rulings may be reviewed and frequently furnish a basis for a reversal. Already in a few jurisdictions the rules of procedure have been so changed or appellate courts have made such decisions that this is no longer possible, and the same should become true all over the country. In England there was no criminal court of appeal whatever until 1907,

and even now appeal is not of right but can be made only when the trial court believes that the merits of the case are involved.

In the last place I should like to speak of something which is not exactly a matter of procedure, but which frequently influences the workings of procedure and which may, therefore, be touched upon in this connection. In England and elsewhere the press is forbidden under rather severe penalties from expressing opinions upon questions at issue in courts before a judicial decision has been reached. In this country, however, there is very little restraint upon the press, so that opinions are frequently expressed upon cases and persons on trial. This is very likely to influence harmfully the workings of procedure either by influencing the opinions of judges and jurors or by stimulating public opinion which will make it difficult for the courts to arrive at decisions impartially. The press should therefore be forbidden from commenting upon the questions at issue in a court. This does not mean, however, that they cannot report what has happened in connection with the case and in the court, or that they cannot comment upon the decision after it is made. Such restrictions would constitute too great a restraint upon the freedom of the press and would be dangerous to free institutions.

I have now discussed some of the more important reforms in our criminal procedure which will increase greatly the efficiency of this procedure. But these reforms will not make it much more feasible to utilize many scientific data of great importance. And yet, looking at it not from a purely legal point of view but from a broad sociological point of view, we should be most interested in devising a procedure which can make use of these data. The principal criticism I would make of most of the writings on the reform of criminal procedure up to the present time would be that they have been too narrowly legal in their character. They have not recognized sufficiently that procedure is an instrument by means of which society attains certain important ends and should therefore be so adapted that it will attain these ends most effectively.

Let us therefore consider what are the objects of criminal procedure. These objects may be stated in different ways, but I will suggest the following statement. Criminal procedure is, in the first place, for the purpose of distinguishing the criminal from the noncriminal members of society; and, in the second place, for the purpose of prescribing penal treatment, at least tentatively, for these criminals. To attain the first end of procedure it is necessary, in the first place, to secure evidence which will show whether or not those accused of crime are guilty, and, in the second place, to weigh and judge this evidence. How the second end of procedure is to be attained will depend upon the legal principles according to which penal treatment is inflicted. If the penal code specifies just what treatment is to be inflicted in the case of every kind of crime, then the judges have nothing to do but to apply the law. But if variations may be made in penal treatment according to the character of the criminal, a great deal of power is placed in the hands of the judges and the procedure should be so adjusted that they will exercise this power in the best possible manner.

There are many scientific methods which may be used in securing evidence. In the first place, the police might secure a great deal of evidence while in the pursuit of criminals which they now lose. The securing of this evidence is not, strictly speaking, a part of criminal procedure; but in order to admit some of this evidence before a court it will be necessary to change the method of procedure.

During recent years the psychologists have devoted a good deal of study to the psychology of testimony. They have found that by means of psychological methods both the veracity and the degree of accuracy of a witness can be tested to a considerable extent. By such methods, also, it is sometimes possible to secure from witnesses or from the accused evidence which they did not intend to give. It goes without saying that such methods should be used as far as possible in the courts; but in order to do so it will be necessary to vary somewhat the law of evidence as to the admissibility, credibility, and weight of testimony.

The way in which medico-legal testimony is admitted in the criminal courts should be changed. At the present time such testimony is usually partisan in its character. That is to say, the medico-legal experts are usually summoned to testify and are paid by the opposing sides, so that the testimony of the expert is very likely to be influenced in favor of his own side. Whenever there is need for such expert testimony the expert should be summoned and paid by the court, so that there will be no danger of his being biased in favor of either side. It is all the more important that this change should be made, because medico-legal expert testimony is the forerunner of many kinds of expert testimony which will be used in the future in criminal cases, and it goes without saying that none of this testimony should be partisan in its character.

I have now indicated some of the ways in which more use can be made of scientific methods in securing evidence. It will now be necessary to consider how such evidence should be presented in court. The usual method at the present time is by means of the so-called contradictory debate. That is to say, each of the opposing sides presents the evidence in its favor. This method of presenting evidence is derived from one of the fundamental types of procedure—namely, the procedure of accusation. This type of procedure began to develop at a time when it was customary for individuals to settle their differences by means of personal combat. In course of time these combats or duels came to be regulated by law, and then changed into a system of procedure in which each party sought for and presented the evidence in its favor, while the judge or judges weighed and judged the evidence presented to them. In this type of procedure criminal acts are regarded too much as private matters, of interest only to individuals. In the opposing type of procedure—namely, the procedure of investigation or inquisitorial procedure—the judge secures the evidence for himself and then weighs and judges it. In this type of procedure, therefore, crimes are regarded as matters of great public importance, to be dealt with by officials representing the public. Our present system of

procedure is a mixture of these two types. For example, the evidence is presented by means of a contradictory debate which is in accordance with the procedure of accusation, but the prosecuting is usually done by a representative of the public, which is in accordance with the spirit of the procedure of investigation. It goes without saying that crimes are matters of great public importance, so that the spirit of the procedure of investigation should undoubtedly prevail in criminal procedure. This seems to indicate that the contradictory debate should be abolished from our procedure. And it is undoubtedly true that this feature of our procedure is undesirable in some ways. For example, the procedure of accusation from which it is derived is undoubtedly responsible for what has sometimes been called "the sporting theory of justice," which is more or less characteristic of Anglo-American law. That is to say, according to this theory a trial is a contest between individuals in which the strongest will win.

It is, however, true that in some ways the contradictory debate has proved to be the most effective way of securing and presenting evidence. Each side has a strong incentive to secure as much evidence as possible and to present it in the most effective manner possible. For this reason the contradictory debate will undoubtedly be retained for some time to come and perhaps always. There is, however, one important change that should be made in it. As has been suggested above, the prosecution now is usually public, but the defense has remained private as in the procedure of accusation. Under such conditions it is indeed true that in accordance with "the sporting theory of justice" the stronger side will win rather than the side which is in the right. In the interests of justice it is most essential that the two sides should be about equal in the ability to secure and present evidence. For this reason the defense, as well as the prosecution, should be public in criminal trials. That is to say, the defense should be conducted by an advocate employed by the State and who is about equal in strength to the public prosecutor. Thus would the rich and poor be placed on the same basis in the criminal courts.

Public defense would also be of great value for another reason. As we have seen above, scientific methods should be used more and more for securing and presenting evidence. But in order to do this it is essential that those who are conducting the procedure shall have special scientific training. It will be impossible to bring this about so long as the defense is conducted by private counsel who have not had such special training. If the defense, as well as the prosecution, is made public, it will be possible to require such special training for both public prosecutors and public defenders. Such training could be provided in the law schools, in connection with the police, and in the prisons, so that those who wish to enter the profession of conducting criminal trials would be properly trained for the use of scientific methods of procedure. Those who entered this profession should serve alternately as prosecutors and as defenders in order to avoid acquiring any bias, and this experience would, as we shall see in a moment, prepare them for judicial positions in the criminal courts.

Let us now consider how evidence should be judged in the criminal courts. In the minor cases it is now customary to have the cases decided by one or a few professional judges. In the more important cases it is customary to have them decided by lay judges in the form of a jury. The jury has a long and distinguished history. It arose as a safeguard of the rights and liberty of the individual against the use of tyrannical power. It is evident, however, that in our modern democracies there is not much need for the jury for this purpose. On the other hand, it is evident that the jury cannot possibly have the technical knowledge which is necessary to judge intelligently evidence presented by the scientific methods indicated above. For that matter, the jury is frequently unable to-day to judge intelligently evidence which is placed before it. The jury is being used less and less as time goes by—as, for example, in England, where the summary jurisdiction acts have made it possible for professional judges to try and convict summarily on the consent of the accused in the case of many indictable offenses. It is probable, therefore, that the jury will dis-

appear in large part, if not entirely, from our criminal courts. It should be replaced with professional judges who have been trained in the manner which has been suggested above. Special preliminary training and experience as public prosecutor, public defender, and judge will produce a body of judges much more competent to weigh and judge evidence than the professional as well as the lay judges of to-day. It is evident that under such a system the criminal judges could not be elected to office, since they would enter the profession for life and would have to be upon a merit basis. But there is little doubt that this system would produce a better group of judges than the electoral system, and there is not much danger to-day that the executive branch of the government would secure too much power over such judges.

We have now reviewed very briefly the methods for securing and judging evidence of guilt. After a conviction has resulted from a trial it becomes necessary to determine the penal treatment to be inflicted upon the criminal. As has been suggested above, under the old system of fixed penalties this was an easy thing for the judge to do. But the tendency to-day is toward the individualization of punishment—that is to say, toward adjusting the penal treatment to the character of the criminal. It is evident, therefore, that judges should be well acquainted with the nature of criminals. This would involve a knowledge of the different types of criminals and the social causes of crime. This knowledge they would have under the system outlined above, for the preliminary training would include the study of criminal anthropology and sociology, while their experience in connection with the police, in the prisons, and in the courts as prosecutors and defenders, would have given them ample opportunity to study the different types of criminals and the causes of crime. This new criminal procedure would therefore provide for securing evidence as to the character of the criminal after the question of guilt had been decided.

But the decision of the judge as to the penal treatment to be inflicted would in many cases have to be tentative.

For example, if an indeterminate sentence were imposed, it would have to be determined later as to when this sentence would terminate. At present this is done by prison officials. But it has been suggested that judges should participate in these decisions also, thus bringing the courts and penal institutions into coöperation in deciding these questions. It might be possible to establish a system of periodic revision of sentences by which the judge would revise from time to time the sentence of each person convicted by him, so as to determine when the sentence should be terminated or whether the penal treatment should be changed in its character. Such revision of sentences would be done upon the advice and with the coöperation of the prison officials. If such a system of periodic revision of sentences should be introduced, the function of criminal procedure would be extended through the judge beyond the time of the conviction and original sentence to the end of the penal treatment of the criminal.

It has been impossible within the narrow limits of this paper to discuss many of the detailed points involved, but it is to be hoped that as time goes by the discussion of the reform of criminal procedure will look beyond technical forms in the procedure of to-day toward the development of a system of procedure which will make the largest possible use of the data and methods of science.

V. CHILD WELFARE

A Community Program for Child Welfare

The Program of the Children's Bureau

**The Extent of Child Labor in the South and Needed
Legislation**

The Unmarried Mother and Her Child

The Care and Training of the Feeble-Minded

A COMMUNITY PROGRAM FOR CHILD WELFARE

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COMPREHENSIVE programs of child welfare have been undertaken by State legislation in Ohio, Massachusetts, Indiana, California, New Jersey, Florida, and the District of Columbia, and partial programs have been worked out in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Colorado, and possibly some other States. Such programs are being discussed in Illinois, Maryland, Virginia, and Washington.

The most definite and comprehensive State program that has ever been formulated is that of the new children's code, which has just been adopted by the legislature of the State of Ohio, and which will undoubtedly be the model for similar and perhaps more comprehensive codes in other States of the Union. The Ohio children's code lays out a definite and comprehensive plan for conserving the welfare of all dependent, neglected, delinquent, and defective children, including supervision and care of such children by the Board of State Charities and State Board of Administration; adjudication of matters relating to their interests by the juvenile court; allowance from public funds for the mothers of such children; medical examination of all school children and special psychological study of backward and defective children, with State provision for their care; institutional care for delinquent boys and girls, with subsequent placement and supervision in family homes; maintenance and regulation of county homes for dependent children; provision for compulsory education and regulation of child labor, with careful consideration of the interests of working children. A separate act provides for a "State Juvenile Research Bureau" to which children may be sent from all parts of the State, to be assigned later for such care as is best adapted to their needs.

There may be said to be city programs of child welfare, more or less definite, in Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore, while there are beginnings of such programs in New

York City, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Omaha, Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle. The most comprehensive city programs are those of Boston and Philadelphia. In Boston, under the leadership of the Boston Children's Aid Society, there has grown up a mutual understanding and coöperation between the Children's Aid Society, the Boston Children's Friend Society, the Boston Children's Mission, the Boston Society for the Care of Girls, the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the New England Home for Little Wanderers, the Boston Associated Charities, the Department for State Minor Wards of the State Board of Charities, the City of Boston through its Board of Trustees for Children, and the agencies of the Massachusetts Training Schools. These organizations are also in close touch with the juvenile court, the public school system, and the State institutions for delinquent, feeble-minded, epileptic, and crippled children.

In Philadelphia a definite program of child welfare work has been established by the Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society, the Seybert Institution for Poor Boys and Girls, and the Philadelphia Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. These organizations have come into even closer affiliation than the Boston societies, and are working intelligently toward a comprehensive scheme for meeting all the needs of children in Philadelphia. These agencies are also coöperating with a large number of county and city children's aid societies in Eastern Pennsylvania.

It is the purpose of this paper to indicate a practical child welfare program for urban communities having a population of five thousand or more. These suggestions are offered tentatively and with the understanding that such a program must be subject to modification, according to the social conditions and social needs of the community, its existing agencies for child welfare, and its general social outlook.

THE INITIATIVE

The initiative in a child welfare program may come with propriety from several different sources. It may come from an existing children's aid society, an associated charities, a

woman's club, a mother's club, a civic association, a board of health, a newspaper, a self-constituted committee, or an individual.

The movement should start from some source which can command the respect and coöperation of all of the good people of the community, without regard to partisan, sectarian, or social conditions. The movement ought to command the coöperation and good will of all of the following named interests: Child-helping societies, institutions for children, mothers' clubs, woman's clubs, medical associations, associated charities, social settlements, visiting nurses' associations, the school board with its officers and teachers, parochial and private schools, the board of public health, the Churches of all denominations with their clergy, fraternal organizations, recreational organizations, Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls, with parents in general. It will be the duty of the Committee on Coöperation to enlist all of these different agencies, to make sure that no one of them is overlooked, and that those who are not interested shall be made to see the importance of their coöperation. The movement should by all means include both men and women. It would be a mistake to confine it to either sex.

It is not expected that the Child Welfare Association will supersede existing agencies as a working force. In small communities up to 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants working for dependent and neglected children, the Associated Charities should include in its activities the work which is performed in larger communities by a Children's Aid Society or a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. In communities where child-helping societies already exist the Child Welfare Association will serve the purpose of bringing those organizations in closer touch with the other social activities of the community. It must never be forgotten that the social problem is a unit. We cannot divide it into sections, as, relief of the poor, rehabilitation of families, public health, child welfare, child labor, etc. All of these interests are inextricably interwoven, and it is only by the fullest mutual understanding and the freest mutual coöperation that worthy results can be achieved.

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

The plan of organization should be very simple. It may or may not include a constitution, according to the scope of its undertakings. Any suitable name may be chosen. Perhaps the name, "The Child Welfare Association," would be as suitable as any.

A meeting should be called, to include representatives of all of the interests whose coöperation is desired. At that meeting an address should be made by some competent person as to the need and possible usefulness of such an organization. This address should be freely discussed and a representative committee should be appointed to present a plan of organization at an adjourned meeting.

The plan of organization might include an Executive Committee, a Committee on Coöperation, a Committee on Babies, including eugenics, prenatal instruction to expectant mothers, infant mortality, and foundlings; a Committee on Health and Hygiene, including the milk supply for children, school sanitation, prevention of children's diseases, physical and medical examination of school children; a Committee on Family Home Life; a Committee on Schools, including public, parochial, private, and vocational schools; a Committee on Recreation, including social centers, moving pictures, playgrounds, summer outings, etc.; a Committee on Dependent Children, including orphan asylums, children's homes, and placing-out work; a Committee on Delinquent Children, including the juvenile court, probation work, and juvenile reformatories; and a Committee on Defective Children, including backward, feeble-minded, epileptic, and crippled children, together with the psychological study of children of doubtful mentality.

The chairman of these committees should be selected with great care and with reference to the special qualifications of each chairman for the particular work which is assigned to his committee.

PRELIMINARY STUDY

The first task of the Child Welfare Association will be a comprehensive study of the local situation. It will be im-

possible to accomplish anything worth while unless the full situation can be clearly ascertained and exhibited.

Each of the committees designated should undertake a careful study of the provision already made in the community to meet the needs of children in the field assigned to it. These studies should not be hasty and superficial, but should be careful, thorough, and systematic. The association should employ a competent person to assist the several committees in planning their studies, preparing schedules, and assigning the work. Some of these studies may be successfully made by volunteers; others will require the services of a trained worker.

MEETINGS OF THE CHILD WELFARE ASSOCIATION

The results of these studies should be given to the members of the association, and, as far as practicable, to the community at large, in a series of meetings running through the year. If the work of the committees is properly done, if the reports are well prepared and digested in brief papers not exceeding thirty minutes in length, if the meetings are wisely planned with abundant time for questions and free discussion, and are properly organized, they will arouse great public interest, will have a large educational value, and will produce a profound effect upon the community.

Part of the meetings should be held in an auditorium where a large audience could be gathered. Part of them should be held either in private residences where room can be found for from fifty to a hundred people, or in institutions where the study of a subject can be illustrated by practical observation of actual work.

The following hypothetical program will indicate how a series of such conferences might be developed:

A HYPOTHETICAL PROGRAM FOR A SERIES OF CHILD WELFARE CONFERENCES

I. October 15. At the Residence of the Mayor.

Address on "The Need and Duties of a Child Welfare Association."

Questions and discussions.

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Report of Committee on Organization.
Election of officers and committee to nominate committees.
Reception to President-elect. Frappe and wafers.

- II. November 15. At the City Club.
Appointment of standing committees.
Address on "The Need of Co-operation."
Questions and discussion.
Report of the Committee on Co-operation.
Special action to secure co-operation of agencies not yet enlisted.
- III. December 15. Mass Meeting at the Opera House.
Report of the Committee on Schools.
Addresses by President of School Board, Roman Catholic Bishop, Superintendent of Schools, President of Woman's Club.
- IV. January 15. At the Residence of Mr. James Brown, President of the Brown Manufacturing Company.
Report of the Committee on Recreation.
Address by President of City Playground Association.
Questions and general discussion.
Cocoa and cake.
- V. February 15. At St. Mary's Orphan Asylum.
5:00 p.m. Statement by Father James O'Rourke on the history, management, and work of the Asylum.
5:15 p.m. Visitors view the Asylum in small groups, each group with a guide.
6:00 p.m. Supper served by the Sisters at 30 cents per plate.
7:00 p.m. Report of the Committee on Dependent Children.
Questions and discussion.
Address on "Present-day Methods of Caring for Dependent Children."
- VI. March 15. Mass Meeting at the High School Hall.
Report of Committee on Health and Hygiene.
Address by Dr. James Mitchell, Secretary State Board of Health, on "The Children's Milk Supply."
Address by Dr. Mary P. Smith on "Medical Examination of School Children."
Address by Mrs. Arthur Corning on "Personal Observation of Improved Methods of School Hygiene in Germany."
- VII. April 15. At the Residence of Mrs. Alice Towne, Chairman of the Committee on Babies.
Report of the Committee on Babies.
Questions and discussion.
Address on "Prenatal Work for Mothers," by Miss Clara Bowen, Secretary of the Visiting Nurses' Association.
Ice cream and cake.

VIII. May 15. At the Juvenile Court Room.

Address by Hon. William Wallace, Judge of the Juvenile Court, on "The Mission and Functions of the Juvenile Court."

Report of the Committee on Delinquent Children.

Questions and discussion.

Adjournment to visit the Detention Home, three blocks distant.

Lemonade.

IX. June 15. Outing Meeting at the State Institution for Feeble-Minded Children at Ravenswood, 25 miles distant.

9:30 a.m. Special train for Ravenswood (business men can take regular train at 11:45 a.m.).

10:30 a.m. Arrive at Institution.

10:45 a.m. Address on "History, Mission, and Administration of the Institution."

11:15 a.m. Busses to the Colony for Older Children, one mile distant.

12:30 p.m. View children at dinner.

1:00 p.m. Luncheon given by the State.

2:00 p.m. Address in the Chapel on "Feeble-Mindedness a Menace to Society," by Hon. Homer Folks, New York.

2:45 p.m. Questions and discussion.

3:30 p.m. Operetta by the children.

4:45 p.m. Return train.

Nine such meetings as are here outlined can be made to have a great educational force, but these public meetings will be only part of the educative work of the association. Each of the committees will be holding meetings monthly or semimonthly, in which the committee members will become familiar with details of the special field assigned to their committee. These committees will hold conferences with public officers and representatives of institutions to increase the efficiency of their work.

A CHILD WELFARE EXHIBIT

A child welfare exhibit may be prepared by a special committee under the auspices of the association. Such an exhibit should portray the various activities covered by the work of the association. It should be carefully elaborated so as to cover every point, but it should present outlines rather than details, and every feature should be significant.

The exhibit should give a bird's-eye view of the actual conditions in the community relative to child welfare, and the exhibit should be so arranged that it could be comprehensively seen and understood by the average observer in the space of two hours.

By utilizing volunteer assistance of high school pupils and members of women's organizations, such an exhibit can be prepared at a moderate cost, ranging from \$500 to \$5,000. This will include the services of a trained organizer for from one to four weeks.

A model for a child welfare exhibit can be found in the Philadelphia Baby-Saving Show of 1912.

Should it seem desirable, a child welfare conference might be held by the association at some time during the second year. Such a conference might cover from four to nine sessions. Its efficiency may be increased by calling in two or three competent instructors from outside, but the meeting should be a "conference" and not an "institute," and the greater part of the discussion should be conducted by local people and child welfare workers.

The conference ought not to be connected with a child welfare exhibit. They should be held at different times for the reason that the two undertakings work against each other. The conference will be neglected by those who desire to see the exhibit, and the exhibit will receive scant attention by those who wish to attend the conference.

PRACTICAL RESULTS

A Child Welfare Association organized and conducted along the lines here indicated may be of great value to the community, but the following cautions should be carefully observed:

1. The association should work along constructive lines rather than by destructive criticism. It should be assumed that public officers and the directors and superintendents of private organizations are good people and are trying to do right, until there is evidence to the contrary.

2. The association should assume a sympathetic attitude toward other philanthropic organizations. It is a

great deal easier to work with people than against them, and it is much easier to accomplish results by persuasion than by coercion.

3. Patience is a cardinal virtue of such an association. It must always be remembered that evolutionary processes are slow and that five years is a short period in the growth of an institution or the evolution of a social movement. It is much easier to secure the enactment of desirable legislation than it is to secure its effective administration after it is enacted.

But if the friends of childhood in any community will unite steadfastly in a well-considered program for the prevention of defectiveness, disease, and delinquency, for the importance of educational methods, for the humanizing of institutional methods, for the preservation of family life, and for the protection of weak and neglected childhood, admirable results can be secured, increasing in their effectiveness year by year.

THE PROGRAM OF THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU

MISS JULIA C. LATHROP, CHIEF OF THE FEDERAL CHILDREN'S BUREAU

I AM asked to describe the program of the Children's Bureau.

May I remind you, first, that the Bureau is the result of an effort ten years long to secure from the general government a Bureau which should concern itself with inquiries into the welfare of the children of this country? In urging this Bureau, societies and individuals from every part of the country, engaged in all sorts of efforts for the protection of children, coöperated, so that perhaps no Federal measure ever went into operation with a stronger backing of general public interest than did this.

The Children's Bureau became a law in April, 1912, so that it is peculiarly fitting that some account of its first year

should be given just at this time. Though authorized in April, it did not begin operation until the last of August, when the appropriation became available. So really it has only about eight months of actual work to its credit.

First, let me state the limitations of the law. The Bureau is directed to "investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people, and shall especially investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children, employment, legislation affecting children in the several States and Territories." You will see, then, that the Children's Bureau is a body purely for investigation and publicity. It has no power to execute or administer, to create or to destroy institutions, to make or unmake legislation, but its task in ascertaining facts pertaining to the welfare of children of the nation seems to be as broad as language could well describe. While the definition of a child is not fixed by law, it will answer at the present time, perhaps, for us to take that classification of the Census which includes children under the age of fifteen and which would give us at the present time about twenty-nine and a half million children as the population in which the Bureau is especially interested.

For this task the law allows fifteen persons and an appropriation in the neighborhood of \$30,000. It has been peculiarly necessary to secure the highest degree of efficiency in the staff, if any results were to be obtained. The very title, the "Children's Bureau," constitutes a touching human appeal. It is only just to the public, which is never deaf to that appeal, that it be always based upon absolutely scientific work. Hence the choosing of the staff was a more than ordinarily difficult matter.

In a Bureau with duties to investigate and publish, only, it is obviously important that it should be in possession of all the significant current literature of the world regarding the welfare of children. Hence the library of the Bureau became at once an important function, and the position of Librarian-Translator was created. Its aim is to secure for its own use, and for the use of the public, whatever

information is available anywhere in the world regarding new and significant work for children; and if such work appears in a foreign language to translate promptly into English. In time it is hoped, as our staff and our appropriation are enlarged, that this library of current literature may be open to the public.

The law provides for field agents, implying that it is anticipated that original inquiries will be prosecuted from the first. It was a matter for anxious consideration as to what subject should be first taken up. When people individually or as volunteer societies undertake to deal with social wrong or suffering, they must proceed as opportunists. But that only justifies them in demanding that the government shall enable them to relate their activities one to another and to secure, if necessary, a basis of absolute fact.

The first subjects mentioned in the law are infant mortality and the birth rate. In this country we do not know how many children are born or how many children die year by year, because America has no system of vital statistics. Here and there a State or a city furnishes excellent returns, but for the country as a whole such statistics, especially those regarding births, are most inadequate. The statistics of Europe on sure information, and those of America by estimate, are challenging the civilized world by their figures as to the deaths of infants less than a year old. In America it is estimated that last year 300,000 babies died, at least half of whom might be saved if, as individuals and as communities, we had used measures of hygiene and sanitation which we well understand. According to the best estimates of the Census Bureau, it is probable that about 2,500,000 infants have died in the last ten years in this country before they had lived a twelvemonth. That is the promise of the destruction of a State almost as great as Georgia. And when we are told that at least one-half this loss of life might have been saved, the urgency of the subject and our responsibility are certainly brought home to us.

We all know that it is not long since we were gravely told that on the whole the death of young babies was no misfortune, since it weeded out the sickly and enfeebled and left the rest the stronger. Now the authorities tell us that

the exact reverse is true. There is no surer index of the well-being of the whole community than the rate of its infant mortality, and the same conditions which destroy young infants leave the children who survive to suffer all their lives from physical handicap.

It was accordingly determined that a series of studies of infant mortality, undertaken in some of the smaller cities, which could be made rapidly and published as collected, was the best beginning for an original inquiry, and for two reasons:

First, because we had neither money nor agents for a large undertaking.

Second, because much attention has already been paid to the needs of the great cities, and many splendid activities, volunteer and civic, are already in existence in them, but the smaller industrial cities have many of the same problems, probably in about the same proportion.

The usual type of inquiry into infant mortality has been a medical one, depending upon an examination of death certificates and a tabulation of the causes of death and a study of the conditions under which the children had died. The Children's Bureau, however, wished to proceed in a different way. It wished to learn how many children had entered a community in a given year and to study the progress of each one through either the fateful first year of life, or so long as he survived. This type of inquiry meant that we could go only to cities which take the pains to record publicly the birthdays of their children, and, as I have indicated, this very much narrowed our field. Our agents are just completing the first city and are securing, not a medical record of the children, but a picture of the social and industrial and economic condition of each family and of the service which the city renders it. The family schedule is necessarily filled with intimate and difficult questions. Perhaps anticipating such inquiries, the law forbids that any agent of the Bureau shall go into any private house without the consent of the owner. We have added further instructions to our agents, and have said that our agents shall not go into any tenement, however humble, except with the consent and good will of the mother of that household—

first, because the humbler the home, the more it needs that the government shall recognize its dignity; and, secondly, because the schedules, unless filled out by mothers whose interest has been enlisted, must be valueless. As a matter of experience, it is found that when the whole purpose of the inquiry is explained, mothers, whether foreign or American, are only too glad to coöperate with the government in an effort to save the lives of their own and their neighbors' babies.

One of the preliminary good results of such an inquiry is illustrated by the fact that in the city where the first inquiry into infant mortality is now going on the newspapers and the clergy united in announcing to their audiences its purpose and in commending the effort of the government to serve the health of babies. A visiting nurse was set at work in the poorer quarter of the town, and at the request of the city authorities the government has consented to send an expert to make an investigation of the city's milk supply. The question of garbage disposal has been taken up with new interest, and the city authorities have asked the government agents to distribute to the foreign mothers the "Save-the-Babies" circular printed in foreign languages, and the more prosperous American mothers expressed themselves as disappointed that the agents had not any suitable literature for them. Before these results can be known or estimated, the mere fact that such an inquiry is going on has stimulated the citizens to a new sense of local responsibility and to new activities.

In this connection the Bureau has sent out an inquiry to 109 cities having 50,000 population or more, to learn what sort of work for saving babies is being undertaken in them. The results of these inquiries show that in some cities there are most useful undertakings, where the city coöperates with private organizations like the visiting nurses, the milk depots, and the relief societies; while in other cities little or nothing is done, sometimes because, as is reported, "no funds can be secured." Through the consular service, the Bureau is also receiving reports from various parts of Europe concerning activities for babies, and we are told that in Valencia, Spain, a city of about 230,-

000 people, the municipality itself maintains an admirable milk dispensary, as it is called, in which all the milk is pasteurized and the day's supply provided for each child brought to the clinic, according to the formula approved by the physicians. The clinical examinations are described as most painstaking. This undertaking is entirely maintained by the city, save for a small fee paid by well-to-do patrons. It will be interesting to see what American city of the same size first follows the good example.

Perhaps there is no aspect of the whole question of babies' care more insistent than this question of a supply of clean milk for every community, and there is probably no one place at which to begin more wisely to improve the care of babies. A great authority has said: "Looked at from one angle, the milk question is only one small part of the pure food problem. The pure food problem in turn is only one chapter of the great book of hygiene and sanitation." But in taking hold practically of the question of safeguarding the babies of the nation, perhaps the best place to begin is with the milk problem. If the flower of our sturdy American boys are seriously affected by poor milk, how can we expect young babies to thrive on it? One of the most interesting charts shown at the Congress of Hygiene and Demography in Washington last fall was prepared by the Federal government. A jagged line showed the number of days lost by the Annapolis midshipmen on account of sickness. This situation became so serious that a great milk farm was secured for the school and perfectly pure milk produced in adequate quantities, and the line which at the top of the chart was sawtoothed became a calm level of health, save where an occasional rise occurred in conjunction with the day of a football game, this rise being ascribed, we may say, not to the malign influence of athletics, but to the curious things boys will eat when away from home.

The Bureau of the Census has been working hard for years to interest the various States in passing such uniform laws for vital statistics as would make it possible for all the States to furnish comparable data, so that America as a whole might be in possession of those primary facts

as to its population and the changes therein which every great European State has long possessed. It is true that the registration of births especially is neglected in this country. There are only eight States at present which have good laws, tested long enough so that the Census Bureau is willing to base its estimates upon them. There are other States which have recently passed what is known as the "Model Law," these States being Virginia, Arkansas, Mississippi, Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee. European countries must maintain standing armies and a system of conscription, and therefore they must know the advent of every possible soldier; but this information, secured for warlike purposes, has much value for the arts of peace. So great are these advantages in a peaceful State that we ought in this country to make every effort to no longer lag behind Europe in giving our citizens the dignity of public recognition when they enter life. Thus the Bureau has been forced, if for no other reason, in order to secure a foundation for its future inquiries, to join with the Census Bureau and the Bureau of Public Health in the campaign sanctioned ten years ago by Congress, for securing adequate laws for vital statistics in the various States.

But it is not alone because these Government Bureaus need the statistics which they can get in no other way except as the States gather them—the birth certificate has been called an asset to a child his life through. First of all, it is not an impossible ideal to look forward to the time when the birth of every baby shall be immediately recorded. Then if the public health officer, to whom the record is sent, believes that there is the possibility that the baby and his mother may not receive the sort of medical and nursing care they need, a visiting nurse, employed either by some co-operating private society or by the community itself, will be sent to the family, and sent so promptly that there shall never be another baby blind from infancy and that every service necessary to preserve and establish the health of that mother and baby shall be furnished. Later, when this child goes to school, the public record of his birth is a proof that he has arrived at the proper age for school, and that he shall stay in school as long as the law provides. In a

recent report of the Board of Inspectors of Child Labor of the State of Oregon, we read: "The Commission has had much trouble. Many parents falsify as to the age of the children, and there have been instances where the date of the birth record in family Bible, birth or baptismal certificate, has been erased and a new date written in without regard for color of ink or style of writing or age of previous entry. There have been many cases of falsely signed affidavits, but these cases have not been prosecuted, as the parents were either poor or did not appreciate the significance of the offense." Thus a birth certificate would remove this temptation from the parents.

In the matter of child labor, the Bureau cannot undertake original inquiries with its present appropriation, nor is it necessary, in view of work already done by the Bureau of Labor Statistics; but this subject is in the hands of a research worker of national reputation who is gathering together and collating the legislation of the various States on this subject.

The steadily widening scope of the correspondence which comes in to the Bureau compels it to act as a clearing house and center of information. Among the subjects enlisting popular interest are juvenile courts, the best forms of legislation affecting children, the care of young children, birth registration, child labor, and the world-wide interest in the moot question of mothers' pensions. While the Bureau has published nothing as yet upon mothers' pensions, it is assembling and digesting the current literature in this country and abroad on the subject, in answer to constant inquiries.

The Bureau expects to issue within a short time the first section of a statistical handbook. The series, when completed, will form, it is hoped, a *vade mecum* for persons studying the care of children.

The National Conservation Exposition to be held at Knoxville, Tenn., in September and October of this year, will have special exhibits of education, public health, and child welfare, and this Bureau is coöperating in creating the child welfare exhibit. It is anticipated that we shall include in this exhibit not only wall screens and models in relief and moving pictures all showing various activities for

children and provisions for their care, but it is expected that a continuous baby-saving contest will be held, in which the health and physical condition of the babies will be carefully tested by expert doctors and each child will be given a card showing its standard with relation to a norm. If medical advice is needed, it can be secured. The Baby Clinic of Knoxville will have a branch at the Exposition and will aid in examining the children. Such a contest as this shows the reverse of the publicity and silly rivalry of the old-fashioned baby show, in which beauty and size were the main elements. The contest is not between the children, but rather to reach a standard of perfection. The building devoted to child welfare will include rest rooms for babies, where they can be placed in charge of nurses while their parents are seeing the Fair. This contest, and the exhibits showing the best methods of caring for babies, it is hoped will become a constant feature of fairs and expositions.

You have asked for the program of the Children's Bureau. I have only been able to reply by describing to you the work which the Bureau is now carrying on and by giving you its point of departure, with the effort to find out how to safeguard the first fateful year of life. But it is plain from the law that it was intended that there should be no instant in the life of the child in which the government should not be alert to ascertain the means by which it can best be served and developed. In short, it was intended that the government should, by efforts necessarily tentative, slow, and laborious, aid in ascertaining a standard of life for the children of this nation, whether they are at home or at work—a standard which should mean that at every point the child should have wholesome opportunity, a standard which a great educator said about the school: "The standard which the best and wisest parent desires for his own child, that must the nation desire for every child."

THE EXTENT OF CHILD LABOR IN THE SOUTH AND NEEDED LEGISLATION

REV. A. J. M'KELWAY, D.D., SECRETARY FOR THE SOUTHERN
STATES, NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

As the system of child labor extends throughout the nation, it is also coextensive with the South. I have seen children at work in occupations of hurt to the child in every Southern State, from Maryland to Arizona, from Missouri to Florida. And these children in their helplessness cry for deliverance from evils that they know not of, and the bitterness of their cry is intensified by their ignorance of what are the inevitable results of the child labor system. Some of them already know. Some of them realize that child employment means adult ignorance. Some of them look with longing eyes toward the schoolhouse as they pass it in the early dawn on their way to the mill, and feel that they are being shut out from the whole world of intelligent communication between human beings, from the wisdom of the world as it is expressed in literature and art. But if all could know what too early toil must mean in undeveloped, ill-developed bodies, in dwarfed and stunted minds, in starved souls, in blasted lives, what a cry that would be, swelling in volume from the canneries of Maryland, the glass factories of West Virginia, the tobacco factories of old Virginia and Kentucky, the hosiery mills of Tennessee, the cotton factories of the Carolinas and Georgia and Alabama, the cigar factories of Florida, the shrimp and oyster-packing houses of the Gulf Coast, the coal mines of New Mexico; from the department stores and the demoralizing street trades of historic Southern cities, Richmond and Charleston and Jacksonville and Atlanta and Birmingham and Jackson and New Orleans and Houston and Little Rock and Memphis and St. Louis and Louisville, and Washington itself; from the uniformed ranks of the night messengers in these prosperous cities, doomed by their very occupation to acquaintance with the underworld and the con-

taminating experience with every form of vice! What a cry that would be, from that great army of children, if they could see themselves and their fellows as the finished products of the child labor system, handing on weakened bodies and all the vices of an empty mind to another generation, perpetuating conditions of poverty and ignorance and crime—what a great and bitter cry would rise from the throats of these thousands of Southern children! They cannot know, but we ought to know. Can we not hear that cry, though inarticulate? Is it not heard by the Great Friend of the children, the Almighty Defender of the weak and the oppressed?

The extent of child labor as measured by the number of child laborers in the Southern States nobody knows today. We have no figures that are not now thirteen years old, having been gathered in the census year of 1900. It is a disgrace to the nation and a discredit to the administration responsible that these figures have not yet been published. It is not the fault of those who are mainly interested in securing those figures, for they have made many appeals and have received many promises. I trust that the Georgia citizen who has just been appointed to be Chief of the Census Bureau will recognize that the census figures have their value in the cause of human welfare as well as for purposes of national boasting or of commercial advantage. The figures of the Census of 1900 have been repeated often. Let us hope that there has been some improvement; that the shock to the conscience of the American people that was given by that Census has had its due effect in at least alleviating the abuses that were then disclosed. The figures for the employment of children as given by the Census of Manufactures are absolutely worthless, from the scientific point of view, worse than worthless in this case, because the optimistic estimates of the employers of children as to the number and ages of the children employed, when stamped with the Census stamp, are liable to mislead and to deceive us into believing that we are rapidly ending the evil. We shall have to wait until the occupation statistics are published and analyzed before we shall know the truth,

and whether to be encouraged by the progress we have made or nerved to more desperate efforts by the recognition of the fact that child labor is on the increase for the last decade as it was shown to be for the decade preceding that.

But we have two means of ascertaining the extent of child labor in a general way by the study of the standards of legislation which we have reached in the South and the means we have adopted for the enforcement of child labor laws. And in the protection of the child workers, as in the education of the children, the South is the backward section of the nation. There are honorable exceptions. Let us look for a moment at the legislative situation. Arizona, the youngest of the Southern sisterhood, has adopted the Uniform Child Labor Law in its entirety, going farther than the law required in the protection of women in industry. Oklahoma has a child labor law that ranks well among those of other States, though some of the particular evils of the child labor system, like the night messenger evil, had not been discovered when the law was enacted. Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland have also excellent laws and fairly adequate enforcement, though the hours of labor for children are still too long in all three. The District of Columbia has a fairly good law, and the Uniform Child Labor Law for the District has been introduced in Congress. Louisiana has a good law, though its enforcement is mainly confined to the city of New Orleans. Mississippi has an excellent law, though it has adopted only local and therefore ineffective machinery of enforcement, and though the standard age of fourteen years was reduced to twelve for boys only. Mississippi has also the distinction of being the only State in which the cotton mill industry bulks large in comparison to others, which has an eight-hour day for boys under sixteen and girls under eighteen, even Massachusetts not having yet reached that standard, though a bill is pending in its legislature with good prospects of success. Tennessee has a good law, with some defects which the legislature will be asked to remedy. Tennessee has recently increased its force of factory inspectors from one to four, with a corresponding increase in the needed appropriations for that high and

responsible office. Virginia and Arkansas have a fourteen-year age limit for the employment of children in factories only, with the poverty exemption clause for children of twelve. West Virginia has a fairly good law with very poor enforcement, and children of fourteen are still legally employed in the glass factories at night and in the coal mines of the State. Texas forbids the employment in mines of children under the age of seventeen, a year higher than the standard of the uniform law, and the labor of children under fifteen years in factories where machinery is used, and the law is well enforced. The legislature of Texas just failed to enact the uniform child labor law at its recent session, the bill having a large majority vote for it in the House, but failing to reach a vote in the Senate. It is hoped that Governor Colquitt will include in his call for the extra session in July the consideration of this bill.

There remain six States, all Southern States, with a low standard of protection for the working children, lower than most of the States of Europe, to say nothing of America. They are North Carolina, with a nominal thirteen-year age limit and no enforcement; South Carolina and Alabama, with an inadequate number of factory inspectors; Florida and New Mexico, all with an age limit of twelve years, even for factories; and in New Mexico, even for mines; and Georgia, with a general age limit of twelve, and a limit below that of ten years for the children of dependent parents, and for orphans. There may be some excuse for New Mexico, with its Spanish traditions, and with very few forms of child labor now existing, to have no better standards than those of Spain. But while I love this good State in whose bounds we have met, and while at two widely separated periods of my life I have been proud to count myself a citizen of this Empire State of the South, I have thus far found no adequate excuse in my own mind for the fact that the standard of the child labor law of Georgia is below that of Spain, and of course below that of any other European or American State. If one of our Georgia orphan asylums, chartered by the State, should put its ten-year-old wards to work for an eleven-hour day in the cotton mills,

there would be a well-nigh unanimous protest of righteous indignation at such a betrayal of trust. Yet the State herself allows its orphan children thus to be exploited. The State confesses that it can make no better provision for the widowed mother or the invalid father than to lay the burden of their support upon the shoulders of ten-year-old children working eleven hours a day. It would be incredible if it were not true.

I trust that before this Congress adjourns we may hear from the Florida Legislature, now in session, the most progressive that has met in that State for years, that Florida has gone from near the bottom of the list of the States to a place near the top, in child labor legislation and in law enforcement; that before the volume with these addresses is printed we may be able to add a footnote to this paper, saying that Tennessee and Texas have also reached the high standard that their legislatures have been considering, and that if the printing is delayed until the last of August we may be able to add a note of congratulation for Georgia also, whose legislature meets in regular session this summer.

Measured by another criterion, the opposition of the industries affected, the general child labor situation in the Southern States may be deemed encouraging. This child labor bill in Florida has been in the past opposed by one oyster packer, who has not been able in recent years to employ children because he has not employed anybody in Florida. He, however, is interested in the same business in other States and owns stock in a Georgia cotton mill. The telegraph companies have opposed the bills for the protection of the messenger boys from the moral dangers of the night messenger service; but they have come to favor an age limit of eighteen and to oppose that of twenty-one which several States in the North have adopted, though in Georgia they succeeded in cutting that down to sixteen. There was some opposition in Mississippi to the extension of the law to the shrimp- and oyster-packing establishments of that State, and there probably will be the same opposition in Louisiana and Alabama. There has been but little opposition from the department stores to the inclusion of

their establishments as has been the case in several of the Southern States, and the opposition vanishes when the shopping women come out in force to advocate the bill. In New Mexico the theater trust succeeded in defeating a child labor law.

The conspicuous opponents, in legislative halls, of child labor legislation, whether as to the hours of labor, the age limit for employment, or the enforcement of the law through the only adequate means, that of factory inspection, are the cotton manufacturers. In Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Texas they have been the only opponents of child labor legislation that appeared in open opposition to the passage of general child labor legislation. They have thus far succeeded in accomplishing this much for the States of which they are citizens and for the South itself, that the reproach of this curse rests more heavily to-day, in the estimation of mankind, upon these cotton-manufacturing States of the South than upon any other part of the civilized world. They may know their business and what course is most profitable for themselves. But I have been a student of public opinion, especially in the South, for some years. I believe that if, ten years ago, even a Democratic Congress and administration had sought to lower protective duties on cotton goods there would have been almost universal protest from the South, because of the pride of all of us in this infant industry. The South is more concerned to-day for the industrious infants who are employed in this infant industry. At least I have failed to hear of any great uprising of the people to protest against the cotton schedules of the Underwood tariff bill. The manufacturers seem to be almost alone in their vociferous protests against having protection denied them, who have denied the protection of law to their helpless little employees. Politicians in our legislatures may still be afraid to offend the cotton manufacturers, even in behalf of wronged and exploited childhood; but if I am able to understand the sentiment of disinterested people, there is a pretty general opinion and a growing belief that cotton mill dividends are earned at too

high a price, when they are based upon the certain sacrifice of the childhood of the South that is condemned to the ranks of the illiterate, ignorant, unskilled, poorly paid, hardly driven, hopeless workers.

It is because they want the children and think they need them in their mills that the cotton manufacturers of these four States, including Georgia, have succeeded in holding back the South from assuming its rightful position of leadership on a question that involves simple humanity to helpless childhood. The States with few or no cotton mills, with the exception of Florida and New Mexico, have all gone forward in this legislation in the last decade. These four cotton mill States are practically where they were ten years ago, and the children of all occupations in which child labor is injurious are denied the protection of law, because other children are profitable to the manufacturers of cotton goods who are able to mislead or overawe the legislatures of their respective States. Surely there is no reason in Southern character that the South should be less humane, where her own flesh and blood are concerned, than the people of other sections. We have rather prided ourselves on the possession of the heart virtue. Surely there are no such conditions of desperate poverty as prevail among the foreign population of our great Northern cities. And it is too late in the progress of civilization to plead ignorance, or to argue that child labor is a good thing for the child. The literature of the subject is too abundant, to say nothing of the plain teachings of common sense. Yet we stand to-day, we allow ourselves to stand, indicted at the bar of civilization itself, for cruelty to childhood, in allowing by law children of twelve or of ten years of age to work in a mill eleven hours a day, and for not enforcing the miserable laws that permit this. I cannot believe that it will be for long. Appeals to prejudice lose their force after a while. Ignorance itself is curable. And if I know the South and the sentiments of the people of the South, they are preparing now to say to the time-serving politician that the wrath of the people is more to be feared than the frowns of the employer of little children, and that the shortest

known method of committing political suicide is to vote against a good child labor bill.

The second part of this subject is easy enough. The "needed legislation" has been defined for us by the American Bar Association in its unanimous indorsement and its recommendation for adoption, in all our States, of the Uniform Child Labor Law. One of the planks in the platform of this Congress adopted at its previous meeting is this: "We stand for the abolition of child labor through the adoption of the Uniform Child Labor Law."

The provisions of this law in brief are: A twelve-year age limit for newsboys and the street trades generally; a fourteen-year age limit for factories, stores, and other specified occupations; a sixteen-year age limit for dangerous operations and processes of manufacture; an eighteen-year age limit for extra-hazardous occupations; and a twenty-one-year age limit, the limit of minority itself, for immoral occupations, such as employment in saloons and breweries and in the night messenger service. The law also prescribes an eight-hour day for boys under sixteen and for girls under eighteen and a nine-hour day for boys under eighteen and for girls under twenty-one, though the States that have regulated the hours of employment for women have made this provision for all women. The law also provides for the accurate ascertainment of the age of the child, proper facilities for enforcing the law, and adequate penalties for its violation. Adopt this law in all our Southern States, as it has been adopted in one and approximated in several others, provide by law an adequate force of competent factory inspectors who recognize the sacredness of the task assigned them of protecting children against exploitation, and we shall end this abuse of childhood within our Southern borders, for our generation, shall remove the reproach of inhumanity to children and indifference to the mute appeals of childhood for its rights, and so be able "to present a serene front to civilization."

THE UNMARRIED MOTHER AND HER CHILD

MRS. KATE WALLER BARRETT, M.D.

IN considering the welfare of all children we must remember that a marriage certificate does not carry with it a diploma for a conscientious and intelligent motherhood, nor does the lack of a marriage certificate rob a woman of these qualities if she possesses them. If a woman has the God-given endowment for motherhood, no man-made laws, however necessary they may be for the protection of society, can take it from her. Unless society recognizes, cultivates, and encourages this natural endowment for motherhood, wherever it may be found, it is robbing itself of one of its most valuable assets.

I have had large experience with the unmarried mother and her child. In order that the best interests of all may be conserved, there must be a consideration of the mother, the child, the father, and society. Any one attempting to deal with this problem who overlooks this fact is very shortsighted in his policy. So, in considering this subject, I shall briefly consider the welfare of these four.

The welfare of the child is best conserved by being kept with his mother, at least for the time when it is dependent upon her for its natural food. We hear much of infant mortality. In a recent article Dr. G. Stanley Hall deals with this subject of the child having its natural food. He cites statistics from the German army records which show that soldiers who had their natural food during infancy have much greater endurance and more power of resistance than those who as children had artificial food. We think that when a child has passed the second or third year safely we can make up to it what it has been deprived of during the early months of life; but these statistics show that this robbery is a handicap through life, and that the loss can never be made up by after care. Dr. Hall says further upon this subject that the nursing function, if lost by the mother, is never regained in the female branch of the fam-

ily. So you will understand how far-reaching is the evil when we permit the little helpless babe to be robbed of its natural food. I have before me statistics of a well-known maternity hospital. During the past year there were born in this institution ninety-six babies, four of whom were still-born, three were adopted, and ten placed in institutions for boarding. Six of these ten are dead and not one of the seventy-nine nursed by the mothers is dead. Is murder a sin or not? Is not the man or woman guilty of murder who consents to the robbing of these children of their rightful food, thus indirectly causing their deaths? Have you read the "Egyptian Book of the Dead"? When the soul comes before the judgment throne it is asked: "Have you ever stopped running water? Have you ever robbed one of food?"

The voices of thousands of these helpless little babes who have been robbed of their food cry to Heaven for vengeance. Are the members of this board of managers accessories to the crime of murder or not? If six children were so cruelly murdered in any other way than the name of charity, there would likely have been an indictment. Can we be guilty of such crimes against the innocent babe who has already been robbed of so much? Is it too much to ask of a woman who has brought a child into the world that for at least six or eight months, or a year, she give it the food which God has placed in her keeping? Are we honest as men and women if we agree to steal from the child its food?

It is best for the mother that she keep her child and make the struggle which is necessary to be a faithful mother. In spite of the fact that the father is freed from responsibility, there is no reason why the mother should also be unfaithful to her responsibility. Two wrongs never made a right. When I look into the faces of these girls I say, "You have laid upon your shoulders a double portion: you must be both mother and father to your little one." And I never met a girl of character who, when properly appealed to and assured of sympathy and help, did not respond loyally to the call of responsibility. I do not hesitate to say that 75 per cent of these young mothers can be

trained into useful and respectable members of society if you and I will do our duty by them, give them a chance, give them sympathy and help and kindly counsel. Many will develop into the kind of women they ought to be in order that they may fulfill the duties of both father and mother to the child. For over thirty years I have been interested in this class, and all over this country I see mothers who are to-day surrounded by families of their own, respectable members of society. It may often seem a hopeless task, but I am glad to say that I do not believe there is a woman of true character who will take the advice of friends and prepare herself to earn a living for her child who need be afraid of social ostracism by good men and women. Every day the circle is wider of those who will stand by and help her to do her duty. Of the many notable men and women who, in spite of the bar sinister, have names written high in the temple of fame, so far as I can learn, every one was reared by the mother. I know to-day many noble men and women, filling high positions, whose mothers have thus stood faithfully by them and reared them to be useful members of society, these mothers being to-day honored members of the households.

I do not think we consider the father of the child sufficiently. I am glad to see that in different parts of this country there is a great awakening to this subject. In the District of Columbia we have a splendid law in regard to delinquent fathers. They are placed in the workhouse and a part of their earnings is paid to the support of the family. An effort is being made to make the law applicable to fathers of illegitimate children, and to make them responsible for the support of their children. I do believe that is going to be one of the best deterrents possible to conceive of. In Scotland it does not matter whether it be the first child a woman has borne or not, the father must support his child when paternity is proved. It may seem rather unsavory to see a woman with three or four children and three or four men supporting them, but even that is better than the system we have in this country where the children, under the same conditions of parentage, are being supported

by the State, the fathers being freed from all responsibility. If you cannot reach the cuckoo fathers in any other way, you must touch their pocketbooks.

In this article I have used the word "illegitimate," because I want you to understand definitely what I speak of; but in my opinion it is time we are getting away from such a misleading and inappropriate name, and one which carries with it a stigma. There is no such thing as an illegitimate child. One child is just as legitimate as another; they come into the world in identically the same way, under the same physical and spiritual laws.

Every child has a right to its father's name, and every woman who has borne a child to a man with the expectation of marrying the man has also a perfect right to take that man's name. The only reason the contract has not been completed is that she has been dealing with a scoundrel who has broken every promise. If a man has made a woman the mother of his child, he has thereby given her the right to bear his name. In all matters of public record, instead of calling the child "illegitimate" when the father is not known, the word "anon" should be used. A child may be anonymous, but not illegitimate.

Not long since I looked into the face of a beautiful young woman with her babe living with a family, earning a good living. I was struck by the happiness of the girl and the beauty of the baby. Going there one Sunday afternoon, I found her alone in the house, singing a happy, joyous song. She was doing her duty to her child. That evening I had a conversation with the lady, who is her friend as well as her employer, and she said: "I am going to find a good home for this baby." "Don't you think the mother can support it?" I asked. "Yes; but she is such a splendid girl, I want her to become a grand social worker." I said: "Do you think you can make a grand social worker out of a girl who leaves her responsibility behind her and goes out unfaithful to the call of motherhood?" I don't want any such material as that to make any worker from, much less social worker. I want the woman who will say, "I have done wrong, and by the grace of God I mean to make up for it,

and I want you to help me." That kind of a woman will make the world better, whether you call her a grand social worker or not.

We have many problems to face in this great mission. The records of the National Florence Crittenton Mission for the last fifteen years prove what I am saying—that is, that the majority of these unmarried mothers can be made to be self-respecting, self-supporting women, and that they can make homes for their children as good as the majority of homes which are open to such children through child-saving agencies.

Every child should have that trinity which God intended—father, mother, and home.

CARE AND TRAINING OF THE FEEBLE-MINDED

ALEXANDER JOHNSON, DIRECTOR OF EXTENSION OF THE
TRAINING SCHOOL AT VINELAND, AND GENERAL SECRETARY
OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

RECENT researches made in several States have shown that the usual estimates which have prevailed as to the number of feeble-minded persons in the United States have much understated the facts. Instead of one in five hundred of the population, which has been a usual estimate, it seems probable that there are fully twice as many. Other studies that are being made show that the number of delinquents who are really feeble-minded, and therefore proper subjects for care and guardianship, not for reformation or punishment, is much larger than has been stated until quite recently.

Some recent investigations of reformatories for girls and women have shown from 10 to 25 per cent of the inmates to be feeble-minded. Many of the terribly immoral and incorrigible girls are among the number. Efforts to

reform them are futile. Punishment is merely cruelty. Permanent custodial care, with useful employment and treatment that will make them as happy as their condition admits of, is the only proper way of treating them.

Similar facts have been disclosed with regard to male inmates of prisons and reformatories. Our present methods with the army of defective delinquents are utterly useless and are very costly. To imprison such people for short terms and send them out, merely to have them commit some new crime or depredation and go over the whole costly process of arrest, trial, commitment, and detention again and again, is one of the conspicuously foolish proceedings of which every State in the Union is guilty.

A few years ago a State commission in New York reported that there were then about 29,000 imbeciles, idiots, morons,* and epileptics in that State who most urgently needed the State's care and protection, and that only a few thousand of them were getting it.

A recent report from Pennsylvania showed 18,000 defectives needing proper care in that State, over and above those now in institutions. The report went on to say that 7,000 of these were women of child-bearing age, that most of them are already mothers of defective children, and that until they are properly cared for and controlled they will continue to increase and multiply.

Research made in New Jersey, partly by the State through the office of the Commissioner of Charities and partly by the Training School at Vineland, has disclosed

*The word "moron" is comparatively a recent acquisition to our vocabulary. It is derived from the Greek, and I suppose its literal translation is "fool." It is an extremely convenient term as we use it. The term "feeble-minded" is now generally accepted as a generic term including all grades of mental defectives except insanity. We divide the feeble-minded into three main grades—namely, idiots, imbeciles, and morons. Since we have the Binet measuring scale, we now classify these three as follows: Idiots, all those who, whatever their physical age, have a mental age of under four years; imbeciles, those with a mental age between four and eight; and morons, those with a mental age between eight and twelve. All who test by the Binet scale a mental age above twelve, some of us insist, must be classed as normal, at any rate not so abnormal as to require special training or segregation.

facts which prove most clearly that feeble-mindedness is chiefly a matter of heredity, and that at least 65 per cent of all present cases have inherited the defective condition. It has been demonstrated that the defect introduced into a family by one feeble-minded girl has come down through six generations in an increasing stream of evil; that feeble-minded parents always have feeble-minded children; that all the other social evils, such as alevliotism, prostitution, syphilis, illegitimacy, crime, insanity, are closely connected with the one great defect—in a word, that if this defective condition could be eliminated every social burden would be made lighter and some would cease to be.

Many of these facts have been known as a matter of opinion to those whose business in life has been to deal with feeble-minded people in institutions. But now the facts are being established and published in a manner to compel public attention.

The object of this lecture is to show the audience, by the use of the stereopticon, what the different classes of the defective look like; to show hereditary charts, to explain the modern tests of mental strength by which we can determine about the many upper-grade cases, some of whom present so good an appearance that without some positive test we hesitate to call them defective; to show how they are taught and employed, the amusements they enjoy, the houses they live in, and finally to present a hopeful plan which has been formulated in one State for the complete and proper care and control of the whole class.

[The lecturer then threw on the screen the picture of an idiot boy, so typical that every one could at once recognize the fact of idiocy. Following this came a number of children of rather nice appearance, but who are of the same idiotic grade. Then came a series of groups of morons and imbeciles of high and middle grade.

Following these were shown illustrations of the Binet and other tests for mental defectiveness. The Binet test, invented by a French psychologist whose name it bears, consists of a series of questions and experiments accurately

graded to show the mental age (as opposed to the physical age) of the subject. This method has itself been tested on a large number of normal children as well as on many hundred defectives, and has been proved to be surprisingly accurate.

Then followed a series of heredity charts, showing the ancestry for three or more generations of inmates of the Training School at Vineland. Following the charts came pictures of twenty-five different boys and girls with a brief account of the salient characteristics of each. Many of these were efficient workers, earning their own support under control and guardianship, but whose characters and weaknesses were such that away from proper control their lives would very speedily be wrecked, so that their only safety is in the institution.

Then came a series of pictures illustrating the work of the school, showing classes at manual work, physical culture, school gardens, and other interesting things; the various workshops of the tailors, the dressmakers, the shoemakers, etc.; then the work on the farm and garden, which is the best of all forms of labor for the defectives of almost every class.

A very interesting series of views then showed some of the amusements and entertainments that are provided for the happiness of the children (no matter how old they live to be, they are always "children"), the merry-go-round, the giant's stride, winter sports, views of the summer holiday camp in the woods, illustrations of plays and players in the amusement hall, and finally some views of the houses they live in.]

The general plan that has been outlined for the State of New Jersey by a Committee on Provision will be adopted in whole or in part. Many of its features are already in operation. It may be briefly stated as follows:

It is admitted that it is impossible to expect the State to care permanently for all the defectives; the State cannot afford to do it.

On the other hand, the people of New Jersey cannot afford *not* to care properly and adequately for the whole

defective class. Out of these two premises the plan has grown.

The first thing to do is to make sure that we recognize all feeble-minded children *before* they become old enough to do serious harm. That is to be done by careful testing of all the children in the public schools, using the Binet or some other adequate test. This is made feasible by a recent law of the State which provides that in every school district where there are found ten or more children who are three years or more behind their regular grades—i. e., children of 10 years in classes of those of 7, etc.—there must be established a special class for the backward or retarded, and when this class is established the State pays \$500 per annum to the school district to cover the extra expense involved.

Of course all feeble-minded children sent to school very soon get into the special classes and are recognized, and the compulsory education law makes sure that practically all children are sent to school.

Until the time that they become dangerous, sexually or otherwise, the feeble-minded children are to be taught in the special classes, but live at home with their parents.

When the age of danger begins, all of the higher classes—that is to say, the imbeciles and morons—are then to be sent to State or other institutions for training and education. This education is to be chiefly industrial; each one is to be trained in some useful work by which he may earn a living under proper control.

In the meanwhile all the lower-grade imbeciles and the idiots (from whom there is really the least danger, since they are the least likely to have children) are to be cared for in municipal or county asylums of moderate size, partially supported and completely overseen and controlled by the State.

To the same or similar asylums will go the trained adult imbeciles and morons. None will be suffered to go out into society; but if they do, they must first be sterilized. Whatever else is done, it must be made certain that the present generation of defectives must be the last of their families.

The State law providing for the sterilization of certain classes is now being tried in the courts, and until the case pending is decided no positive resolution can be adopted in this matter. It is not essential to the system proposed, although it might be a valuable safeguard. There are some grave objections to the method. If complete and permanent segregation of the whole class could be secured, surgical interference would be unnecessary. It is only as a last desperate resort to check and eliminate a terrible evil, the most serious with which the State must deal, that I, for one, would accept the plan with the dangers that surround it.

If by the New Jersey plan, or some other, the whole class of feeble-minded of the present generation could be eliminated from the body politic and safeguarded against leaving posterity, there can be no reasonable doubt that the beneficial results in one or two generations would so far overshadow the cost that it would prove to be the most profitable investment that society or the State has ever made.

VI. ORGANIZED CHARITIES

A City Program for Organized Charity

Tests of Efficiency in Organized Charity

The Value of Teamwork in Organized Charity

The Applicant for Charity—a Victim or a Teacher

County Almshouses and Needed Reforms

**Central Supervision and Control of Charitable and
Correctional Institutions**

A CITY PROGRAM FOR ORGANIZED CHARITY

**FRANCIS H. M'LEAN, SECRETARY OF AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF
SOCIETIES FOR ORGANIZED CHARITY**

No other social movement has displayed so great a growth in the last five years as the organized charity movement in the South. When one remembers the kind of work and the kind of societies which passed muster five years ago, and then turns to the ambitious programs and the ambitious leaders of the present day, he realizes indeed that a wonderful transformation has occurred. For, indeed, the distance which has been traversed in the more important cities measures an invisibly large distance between the first and the last milepost. The very content itself, the ideals, and the purposes are of a different order than what ordinarily pertained but a few years ago. As community agencies, the societies are taking their places as leaders and the areas of service which are gradually unfolding before their eyes stretch out to the horizon.

THE UNDONE

To doubtless many of you this will appear to be a statement utterly away from the truth, for, after all, the movement has not traversed very far beyond the more important cities. There are still agencies which are nothing more than the dispensers of alms, which have no high aims and no high ideals. There are many places where the very idea itself has not come in. There are very many places where the neglected family, the abused child, and the wayward girl receive no attention beyond the spasmodic sympathy of persons who feel a temporary responsibility.

THE MESSAGE TO ALL

What I have to say to-day bears upon the lines of responsibility which should be assumed by the larger cities. It should be borne in mind, however, that the message of

the organized charity movement is one which we hope eventually to bring into every community, rural or urban, in the country. In the South the adaptation of this plan to the city under 20,000, and to the rural community, has not been worked out. But in other parts of the country there is a beginning of this sort of effort. Where other social movements are viewing their problems from a special point of view, here is a broad, generic society which accepts from day to day the social problems which are everywhere present. It is not a matter of titles. In the smaller cities, where there is only the possibility of having one strong social agency, it is willing to accept any name for the effort, but it refuses to recognize as the center any movement which does not start upon the same fundamental basis of individual needs as it does. It may be an associated charities, or a league for social service, or a league for personal service, or a civic league, or a town improvement league—that matters not. What does matter is that the organization recognizes that no large program dealing with generalities can possibly meet the situation. There may be a program as broad as the hills; if it is founded upon the idea that individual human ills must be considered both with relation to importance and the making of a program, then all is well. If it simply means the assembling of a lot of broad social theories, then there is still need of the kind of fundamental society of which we are speaking. In this day of ballooning, there is no community which is not prolonging suffering which has not a strong progressively thinking social organization that is considering the individual family and the individual child as well as the community at large.

It is possible in places of 10,000 or less to combine all of the work into one organization, but it must be on the assumption that some one fully qualified shall give all her time to the work. It means the definite recognition of paid, trained service. By no means does this mean that the largest part of the effort must be through such service. It simply means that there must be the permanent center around which the vast mass of volunteer service shall formulate and arrange itself for greater effectiveness.

Where the cities are small, we are now endeavoring to feel our way into a county experiment. Indeed, it is necessary in some way to formulate working plans for county leagues, if we are to cover the broad expanse of the country. Therefore we are concerned with any experiment in broad development and shall be most interested in working out any practical plans which are suggested in any of the rural counties of the South.

So, while we pass after this bare mention of the subject of the day, let it be with a definite impression in your mind that, important as the city development has been, we realize that the most tremendous development of the future must be in the town and the country. Let me add that probably our aims are the same. If any of you have been turning over in your own minds questions of sheer organization for serious work, an organization which shall attempt to patiently encompass and dissect the difficulties which present themselves to you, and which must be considered every day in the year, and which do not grow less while the programs of clubs vary from year to year, whereas a slap and a dash here and a slap and a dash there comprise the total of the effort which is now being made.

The greatest service of our movement is in connection with the efficient organization of the humbler city and the country.

THE CITY PROBLEM

Leaving then the field in which we are slowly feeling our way, what is there to say with reference to a city program? It seems to me that it would be well for us to even further limit the topic. I should like to consider the organized charity program of the *Southern* city. Because of the peculiar premiership which the society has in a number of cities, and because of the nature of the ordinary group organizations which face it, and because of the importance of particular problems in the South, it would seem to me as if we might profitably consider the question of the program of just the Southern city.

EDUCATIONAL VALUE

From my several years' experience in the South, I have been strongly impressed with the fact that educational values play an even more important part in the treatment of individual families than in any other part of the country. I mean that ignorance, physical degeneration, lower standards of morality, and lower grades of mentality present a most important proportion of the problems for betterment which confront you. Except in a few places, you do not have to consider foreign immigration, but native American white stock whose family background is of the smallest. And I have been faced time and time again with the presentation of individual family problems where the hope of an effective change is dependent upon years of effort. In many places this indeed applies to whole neighborhoods. In a city of 20,000 which I visited recently there were no less than five centers in the city in which were families where the most difficult questions of this sort were demanding efficient handling. I know that sometimes workers have become discouraged because they have come from places where a larger portion of the families were capable of quicker improvement. Here in every city which I know about there are scores upon scores of heartbreaking situations where the effort to progress seems well-nigh hopeless.

While I do not minimize economic considerations, I am sure that questions of individual and family development bulk far larger in a great many of the Southern cities. Nor are these families entirely in contact with the cotton industry. The same condition applies where the cotton mill is not present at all, or is a minor consideration. While questions of relief have to be considered, and while there are many other types of families, it may be certainly said that the Southern societies have an opportunity on this educational side which is second to none. For instance, I doubt if they will ever offer much new experimentation in the field of material relief. This is important, but important only in so far as it follows the standards which have been worked out elsewhere. In developing consistent treat-

ment, it will doubtless make certain contributions. It seems to me that the greatest contributions will come as the societies are able to report upon the success or failure of their educational work with families and with the community.

THE FORGING OF WEAPONS

There are certain auxiliary weapons which are being gradually forged. We refer to such as proper non-support and desertion laws. Also the development of juvenile court systems, and other weapons of that sort. One of the most important among these is, of course, custodial treatment of feeble-mindedness, which we will take up later.

EXPERIMENTAL WORK WITH FAMILIES

But at the same time, no matter how many weapons are forged, it is necessary to remember that nothing can take away the need of individual effort for the individual family. The weapons will often be useful in breaking up a family when all else has failed. There will be a number of families, however, which cannot be worked with in this compulsory manner.

From time to time I have heard of various objective tests which have been tried—such, for instance, as the use of the prize scheme for best-kept homes, etc. I have heard of attempts made through social centers. I have heard of attempts made through the schools. After all, however, we shall not go very far along the road unless we begin to accumulate the hard-wrought experience of individual families of this sort which have been closely observed and worked over a number of months. Then the tendencies, the strength, and the possibilities will be accurately determined. This, it seems to me, is one great task which should be definitely undertaken during the next few years of organized charity in the South. There should be an accumulation of experience with reference to the most difficult families of this type, how far they may be dealt with in mass, how far they require thoughtful individual service entirely apart from relief. Indeed, the settlement of that one question would be of the utmost value.

I realize that the development of volunteer service in the South has for certain reasons been slow. But there is nothing now in the way of its steady growth. That there must be developed volunteer service of the highest type in order to properly struggle with this problem, is self-evident.

It means not only volunteer service, but a greater consideration given to mental problems in the decisions' committees working with the paid workers. There is need of the specialist on the medical side, the psychiatrist.

INSTANCES

To illustrate what I mean I recall two different problems which were presented to the first meeting of the decisions' committee of a society. This was before it was actually at work.

One was that of three difficult maiden sisters who refused to carry out the plans made for them, even though they were being supported from relief funds, who did not keep any work regularly, who insisted upon moving into more expensive quarters when the ladies interested had selected and paid for more modest but good quarters for them, who gave away certain garments which they had been told to make for purposes of sale, and who in every way thwarted every plan made for them. They were at the same time most insistent beggars. Those interested thought possibly the sisters were more or less unbalanced. The psychiatrist indicated the lines of inquiry regarding the family history which should be followed out, and promised to see each one of the sisters, and even bring in a specialist for consultation. It was doubtful upon the evidences already presented whether the sisters had been merely spoiled or did require special treatment. If they did require such special treatment, it was planned that the effort should be concentrated upon the most hopeful of the three, who should be impressed with the idea that she alone would be responsible for the welfare of the sisters, and in that way, with a study of general make-up, should by judicious handling be put in the sort of place where she would be kept at work.

Another case, more typical, was that of a Czarina, a mother of a large family, who had persuaded her daughter and son to come back with husband and wife respectively and live under the same family tree. Both the young couples already had one child apiece. Conditions in the home were beyond description and were bound to overwhelm all the good influences brought in by the new blood. The question centered around both the old family and the new shoots. Effort extended over a long time and only resulted in the family's moving into a little larger quarters. It was agreed that there must be a successful effort made to take out the two young families, and then to work out a plan for the older. In order to take out the two younger families, it was agreed that first the workers in the society should win over the husband and wife in the two new family groups who had come in from the outside. Their lack of blood relationship to the Czarina and family would probably make them the easiest ones to work with first. They were to be shown in what shape they could live away from the big home, and how necessary it was to do this for the sake of their coming families. They were to be shown the kind of house they could use, and in other ways brought over by suggestion. When they were won over after a shorter or greater length of time, the husband and wife respectively who were son and daughter of the Czarina were to be brought into consultation and worked with. Very strong influences were to be used in picking out the houses for them and making the steps seem a matter of course. I am not at this stage able to state just how these plans worked out. I am not offering them on the basis of successful treatment. I am offering them on the basis of the very important part which they must play in the work of the Southern society. We hope that every contribution in this direction will be most original and most important. Not only will they serve the families with which they are working, but they will be a source of inspiration and suggestion to others. May we not hope for special attention to be given to the scores of problems like these which are confronting the Southern societies?

EDUCATION NOT CO-ORDINATION

Because of the position occupied by many of the societies less attention has to be given to coördinated effort in the South. But this is replaced by the large responsibilities in connection with the education of the community and the development of a clear coöperation with those organizations attempting to do any individual work. Increasing the number of volunteers, increasing the number of those who are having first-hand contact with real people and the conditions which confront them, increasing the sensitiveness of the response of the community to new needs as they are presented, in all this there is a broad task for the societies. Because of positions which they occupy, they have peculiar possibilities. It is hardly necessary to mention this, because it now occupies a very important place on the program of the societies. I need hardly remention the necessity of recognizing that the development of all personal service must be one of the safeguards of the future.

ITS GENERAL SOCIAL PROGRAM

We have more than once insisted that what the societies should do so far as the general social program is concerned would be marked out by the case work itself. Nevertheless, I think one may recognize that the present conditions in Southern cities make it possible for us to consider certain definite problems which are pretty generally present. In discussing this we take into consideration the leader which the organization has and the degree of responsibility which pertains to that leadership.

THE HOUSING AND SANITARY PROGRAM

There is no one to divide the responsibility with the Associated Charities in this direction—that is, on the private agency side. The conditions surrounding general relief administration are on the whole not bad. I am strongly inclined to urge that a city of any size should have the ordinances covering health matters formulated together into one sanitary code. This seems to me a form which should

everywhere be urged by Associated Charities. Without pretending to include every city in this arraignment, my observations point to bad housing as one of the most neglected problems in the South, and one which should receive greater attention. Even where there is an efficient health department going after the poorhouses, it is necessary for them to have greater public support.

CHILD LABOR

While every secretary is perfectly clear in his own mind on this question, that by no means indicates that the Associated Charities should everywhere and every time be voicing the need of conditions which do not now exist, if the services which it can render will be greater in the direction of gradually educating people up to the right, proper point of view rather than itself always being officially in the front rank. Its position must be unequivocally solid, but not argumentatively so, so far as the society officially is concerned. It should take part in every movement for advancement when it feels that it has sufficiently educated its more important clientele. It should, of course, be most rigid in its adherence to legal standards already adopted, and should put the right authorities in possession of the facts regarding individual violations whenever they come to their attention. It should be ready to function in its own special field if questions regarding scholarships, etc., require attention.

DEVELOPMENT OF STATE AND COUNTY INSTITUTIONS

In right development in this direction it will very often have to be the leader. There is very much to be done in a great many States and counties, and as far as possible the societies should be serving as watch and warder for the institutions which are near them. But more important is the question of the right development of State institutions. There will come a time when the need of a State Board of Charities will be generally felt. But both before and after there is considerable responsibility resting with our societies in the larger cities.

What I have said before regarding mental problems brings in the great question of feeble-mindedness and inadequate provision in that direction. In the proper care of the child, in the proper care of feeble-mindedness, in the proper care of the tuberculous—in these and in other directions there is no likelihood of any other agency but the Associated Charities taking up cudgels for the weak and defenseless. These are not such spectacular things as are represented in many other social movements. There will be many agencies which will dash on from one thing to another. There are brighter things than the institutions of which we are speaking. But because of their necessity to the State, because of the untold misery which is dragging down those who might otherwise rise to a real stage of existence, and because of what it means in human life of the present and future, there is no higher single purpose than to influence proper development in this direction than is now presented to the Southern societies.

IN THE MEDICAL FIELD

The part which the societies have played in the medical field has varied considerably according to local conditions. It is probable that no definite policy would be worked out which would fit into these different conditions. There can be no doubt that on the whole the fate of the tuberculosis movement must rest upon the activities of our societies. Most of them have in one way or another accepted this responsibility, as was to be expected. If it is possible to organize separate agencies, as has occurred in several cities, all the better. But it is certainly up to the societies to see that development takes places so far as the care and consideration of tuberculosis is concerned.

As to other medical agencies, it is most difficult and unwise to propose a scheme which would be generally adaptable.

PUBLIC EDUCATION AND RECREATION

In one way or another the societies have been inevitably mixed up in matters concerning the public school and recreation development. Our belief is that as far as possible their

efforts should be in the direction of outside agencies assuming control and then assisting as best they can. Particularly in the recreation field, I should imagine that the organization of special agencies would be generally the most desirable.

JUVENILE COURT PROBATION SYSTEM

I have not mentioned the juvenile court and probation system as a matter requiring special effort, because most of the cities are on the road to this development, if not already there. Wherever it is not, there is scarcely any question but that this question should be taken up ahead of everything else.

VARIATIONS

This does not pretend to indicate the size and scope of the program of any one society. In the field work which preceded the organization of the newer societies in the South special emphasis was laid upon the general social responsibility of the societies and their willingness to take up the problems as they unfold. I would not minimize what has been said in this direction. What I have tried to do is to point out the peculiar responsibility as a general movement toward some of the special social problems. This has been done in addition to pointing out its field of peculiar usefulness with reference to the family rehabilitation.

FOR THE GENERAL GOOD

With that clearly in mind, I need hardly add that we expect the societies to go on their way from year to year still more efficiently serving as the spokesman for the neglected, still more gaining the sympathy of people of all kinds, because of their steady, consistent work with the individual. There has been nothing more encouraging in the work of our Association than to perceive their splendid activities and their splendid spirit. Nay, I scarcely think that there is any single social factor more important than the development made through the Associated Charities in the Southern city during the last five years. Looking back into the past, one would scarcely have hoped to have seen this

growth, and to have realized that to-day the work of these societies places them in the forefront of Associated Charities all over the country. Here, many as the difficulties have been, it has been the spirit which both the executives and directors have shown which has been full of golden promise for their communities. We see men and women everywhere who have become inspired with the broad and brave program which has been laid down, and who have become fighters for the cause as long as life remains with them. Not in viewing present obstacles and disappointments, but in realizing the magnificent progress of the last six years, may we again breathe in the pioneer spirit and courage which have made this growth possible, and which will render even more beautiful services in the days to come!

TESTS OF EFFICIENCY AS APPLIED TO SOCIETIES FOR ORGANIZING CHARITY

WALTER S. UFFORD, GENERAL SECRETARY OF ASSOCIATED CHARITIES, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

EFFICIENCY is a watchword of the age. In manufacture efficiency expresses itself in the demand for scientific management, in education for vocational training, in agriculture for intensive farming, in philanthropy for prevention.

GROWTH OF SOCIETIES FOR ORGANIZING CHARITY

We are now to consider tests of efficiency as applied to a particular branch of social service—namely, societies for organizing charity. The growth of these agencies within the past decade has been noteworthy. From a few active organizations of the kind to be found in our larger cities, or in proximity thereto, a considerable number of which had a name to live but were hardly deserving of the name, there has suddenly come a rapid development. Older societies—orthodox and straight-laced—have abandoned the

bogie of "no relief" and are now preaching the doctrine of adequate aid and organized pensions with a boldness that shows that consistency is not one of their bugbears. The extension work now being carried on by the American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity under the inspiring leadership of Mr. McLean, and the educational work being conducted by the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation under the trained guidance of Miss Richmond, are further evidence that the principles of organized charity are being deepened and broadened in our old societies and that these principles are being put into operation in a multitude of new fields. In addition to all this, the growth of schools of philanthropy with their direct association with certain of our great universities is raising the standards of work and workers. It is therefore no wonder that efficiency tests are being applied to societies for organizing charity in accordance with the general spirit of the age.

The question to be answered is much the same in the field of philanthropy as in that of manufacture, education, and agriculture—namely, "What of the product—not only quantitatively but qualitatively?" Are our schools fitting for life and citizenship? Is agriculture keeping pace with the increase of mouths to be fed? Is our philanthropy decreasing poverty, pauperism, and crime? How may we tell? Only by a careful analysis of aims and methods, as well as accomplishments.

Defining a chief aim of organized charity as the rehabilitation of families in distress, let us study the processes by which it is sought to accomplish this purpose. In the interest of this study and for the sake of precision we may divide our general problem into a series of group problems and seek to interpret our methods of dealing with the particular class under discussion. Within the time at our disposal let us consider these rather typical groups:

Widows with children.

Deserted wives with children.

Families in which the wage-earner has tuberculosis.

Single women with children.
 Married couples with children.
 The homeless man.

WIDOWS WITH CHILDREN

The importance of this group is fully emphasized by the present agitation for widows' pensions. It seems to be generally agreed that the impetus to the present discussion was given at the now celebrated White House Conference, held in Washington in the late winter of 1909, under the call of ex-President Roosevelt and at the suggestion of Mr. James E. West, now the efficient director of the Boy Scout Movement. From the moment that this conference, composed as it was of the representatives of all faiths, championed the rights of the individual child to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, the traditional orphan asylum was doomed. Not a Home (spelled with a capital), but the home presided over by the natural parent became the goal. I am not here to discuss the merits or demerits of legislation proposed along the lines of pensions for widows. I wish only to state certain propositions by which to judge whether organized charity is measuring up to the growing demand and standards of treatment for this and other groups. These propositions, which for lack of time must be stated baldly, may be summarized as follows:

1. The family supplemented by the common school is the most effective agency which we have for training for life and citizenship.
2. Poverty of itself is not a sufficient reason for breaking up the home by taking young children from their mothers.
3. A way must be found therefore where it is demonstrated (please mark the word demonstrated) that the mother is a good care-taker and faithful guardian to enable her to keep and train her children even in the face of destitution through the death of the father.
4. A first effort should be made to organize the necessary relief from natural sources within the related family group by appeal to kindred, Church, employers, or other attached persons.

5. Where, however, unrelated, outside financial assistance is necessary, this should be forthcoming. Where such is the case, assurance must be had that the mother is doing her full duty under every proper stimulus. By virtue of their dependence upon other than natural resources within the family, the children become in a very true sense the wards of society.

6. This social responsibility must be assumed either by some voluntary group of trained experts acting as trustees or by the State. Too much stress cannot be laid upon the full and adequate exercise of this social responsibility.

It is by the thorough application of these principles that we must test the efficiency of our organized efforts in behalf of widows with children. Organized charity must be prepared to meet this test. We must stand for the integrity of the home and the training for citizenship through the home. Poverty must not be permitted to separate widowed mothers and their children. Experience shows that in many such instances resources within the family group can be developed so that society will be relieved from assuming responsibility. After every effort is made to organize such resources there will still remain a considerable number for whom regular grants must be provided. In the giving of pensions certain requirements must be met by the recipient. Children of school age must be kept in school. Regular reports must be obtained from the teachers showing the progress of these pupils. Proper medical attention must be guaranteed, and a friendly visitor secured to act as a good neighbor for mother and children. Failing to meet its responsibility in respect to widows' pensions, through lack of community support, a society for organizing charity must then face the question fairly as to the responsibility of the State for doing what private philanthropy shall confess itself unable to accomplish.

DESERTED WIVES

A second group is composed of deserted wives and children. Here the problem of poverty is complicated by the criminal act of the deserter. The man is still to be reckoned

with as an important element in the problem. The effect of his example upon associates and neighbors needs also to be remembered. For society or organized charity to treat deserted wives as it treats the widows would surely show a lack of scientific management that sooner or later would be reflected in the nature of our charitable output. Let us repeat that the test of efficiency is the character of our product. "By their fruits ye shall know them" is good Christian doctrine. It is good pragmatic teaching. It is also the test of efficiency.

An important consideration in our treatment of deserted wives is the disciplinary one. The community should not be expected to take over the man's responsibility without a protest. Every effort must be made to locate the deserter and to oblige him to do his duty. The State should without parsimony put its machinery into operation to locate the man and compel him to resume his family obligations. If, when found, he still refuses to support his wife and children, let him be put at hard labor and his surplus earnings be given to his family. How this policy works out in the District of Columbia, for example, all of you may not know. Since the passage in 1906 of the Non-Support Law, fathered by Mr. William H. Baldwin, member of the Board of Managers of the Associated Charities of Washington, and a national authority on the subject, the District of Columbia, through the Juvenile Court acting as a court of domestic relations, has exacted from derelict husbands placed on probation \$174,957.16 for the benefit of their families. Meantime the amount of public money used in the payment of wages in return for the labor of deserters sent to the workhouse has been \$10,870.50; a total of \$185,827.66. The law acts as a Damocletian sword ready to fall on the deserter's neck and give him trouble if he doesn't keep at his job of supporting his family. Before we can deal effectively with deserting husbands the necessity of such a law is apparent. It will save thousands of dollars of the taxpayers' money and a large demand for charitable funds. It will also serve as a deterrent against shirking parental obligations.

Assuming now the existence of this statute and its effective operation, our problem approaches that of the destitute widow with children. Here again we must demand full coöperation from the mother. If she refuses to swear out a warrant for her husband, she must take the consequences. That very act on her part shows that she cares more for shielding the criminal than for the protection of her own offspring. It would be an evidence of inefficiency on our part to pension such a mother. She must learn her lesson through discipline, even to the point, if necessary, of losing her children until she is ready to coöperate and bring the deserter to book. But granting full coöperation on her part, and every possible diligence in the enforcement of the non-support law, then the children may well be kept with the mother, thus preserving the integrity of the home. The rest of the procedure will not be so unlike the treatment and supervision given widows with children. Any treatment short of this cannot stand the test of efficiency as judged by the character of its ultimate product—namely, the kind of preparation given the children for life and citizenship.

FAMILIES IN WHICH THE WAGE-EARNER HAS TUBERCULOSIS

This brings us to consider another group more or less typical. Here the determining factor is not in the first instance criminal neglect. Misfortune for which society is responsible, rather than the family itself, has brought the family to its present condition. I refer to that large class made dependent by the presence of tuberculosis. Preventable sickness and accident, as we know, occasion a vast amount of poverty. While we are attempting to devise social legislation which shall reduce the volume of destitution from preventable causes, we are called upon to minister to their victims. The problem of relief is complicated by the presence within the family of a sick member unable to contribute to his own support and a heavy drain upon the family budget. Here, too, our efficiency test must be rigidly applied: "What of the product?" We are humanely interested in the victim of tuberculosis, but our

sympathy for him must not blind us to our duty to his children. We must take the long and not the short view. Tuberculosis is a communicable disease like smallpox and scarlet fever. In the city of Washington we have had sixty cases of smallpox this spring, fortunately with no deaths. The Health Officer advised general vaccination. From the occupants of the White House to the lowliest charwoman in the government employ preventive measures were applied.

Think of the panic if two people were to die daily from smallpox or scarlet fever at the nation's capital, year in and year out! Yet such is the death toll in Washington from tuberculosis. You see the bearing of all this. The foci of infection must be isolated. If such isolation cannot be guaranteed at home because of poverty, congested quarters, lack of nursing care and medical supervision, then the patient must be removed to hospital treatment. We have reached the stage where the death rate from tuberculosis tends either to remain stationary or actually to rise. A society for organizing charity, which puts relief into a family where there is a dangerous, careless, or ill-cared-for tuberculous patient, makes it possible, if not probable, for the children of the family to become infected. Such a society is guilty of gross inefficiency, to put it mildly. The ablest authorities are telling us that this is a disease which is contracted almost universally in childhood. The seeds are sown then. The extent of the infection, as well as the degrees of resistance, will determine largely the child's fate in after life. Therefore efficiently organized social service will seek to protect the children within the family at any price.

Such protection can best be guaranteed, first, by the removal of the patient to sanitarium or hospital care; secondly, by periodic examination of the children for a considerable time following the removal of the source of infection; and, thirdly, by careful supervision to see that adequate relief is given to maintain a proper standard of living within the family, following the removal of the sufferer or until normal conditions are reestablished. Once more

the good offices of the friendly visitor must be enlisted if proper supervision is to be given to the execution of these policies.

SINGLE WOMEN WITH CHILDREN

Another group with which organized charity should be prepared to deal in an intelligent, humane, and effective manner consists of single women with children. In a few of our larger cities where specialization is carried farthest this work is done by agencies other than societies for organizing charity. For example, in New York City the State Charities Aid Association, in Philadelphia the Children's Bureau, and in Boston and Baltimore the Children's Aid Society specialize in this field. But in cities of fewer resources the need for a "Mothers' and Infants' Department" is becoming increasingly apparent. You have not followed this paper to this point without having observed that in testing efficiency by product we are chiefly concerned with the children in our dependent groups. With them lies our great opportunity for constructive work. In a decade or two these children will be citizens. Shall they become chronic dependents or self-supporting, tax-contributing members of society? So in our treatment of single mothers with children the protection and development of the newborn infant should be our primary concern. This protection can be best given by the mother, and in keeping mother and child together we shall be redeeming the mother while we are saving the life of the child. The day has passed when these mothers may be permitted to abandon their children to institutional care. Let the mother be encouraged at the earliest moment to resume her place as a self-supporting member of the industrial world, according to individual aptitude and capacity.

MARRIED COUPLES WITH CHILDREN

There yet remain two other groups to which brief reference should be made. They are perhaps as difficult to treat effectively as any with whom we have to deal. One of these is married couples with young children. It is a

common experience of societies for organizing charity that a considerable proportion of its applicants is of this class. There are many such families constantly on the border line of dependence chiefly because of lack of earning power on the part of the breadwinner. "Too many mouths" to feed would be a fairly accurate diagnosis of the difficulty. What are we going to do about it? We cannot drown the surplus children as we dispose of kittens. We can and should seek by moral suasion to teach self-control and prudence to such parents. We have not now in mind families in which the breadwinner is physically disabled, but the cases in which he is inefficient or mentally handicapped without being actually feeble-minded, or where his occupation is a seasonal one and the annual wage is insufficient to maintain his growing family. If the root of the trouble is primarily economic and lies in the kind of job rather than the kind of man, the solution would seem to be in finding the man a better job or an all-the-year-round occupation. If the trouble is with the man rather than with the job, then he must be given some sort of elementary vocational training. He should be tested by some vocational expert or scientific manager in order to learn what he is good for. Work in which he will be least inefficient should then be sought. A certain proportion of these men are country-bred. In such instances the solution may be found in a return to the land, where nature will supplement his inefficiency and where wife and children may at least have the advantage of outdoor occupations. Of course this does not mean that unaided the man can become a prosperous farmer, nor that the family should be moved beyond the range of proper schooling for the children. It does mean, however, that in these days of scarcity of farm labor the man should readily find profitable employment under supervision.

Where dependence in this group is due to feeble-mindedness or dissipation, of course disciplinary measures will have to be used and institutional care sought. With the elimination of the breadwinner the problem of treatment then will be not unlike that of the deserted wife group.

THE HOMELESS MAN

Finally we come to the most perplexing of all our problems—namely, the homeless man. If we think of him as childless, then he is the one exception to the other groups mentioned in this paper where the children are the controlling consideration in our constructive work of rehabilitation. But the homeless man, as has been so frequently discovered by social workers, is often the deserting husband. Where such is the case every effort should be made to get him back to his family. Passing over this phase of the subject, the task set us is that of protection to the community. Fortunately in doing the best thing for society at large we are also doing the best thing for the man himself. A common experience is that the man's first need is medical examination and hospital or institutional treatment. He may be feeble-minded, he may be a drug fiend or dipsomaniac, a carrier of typhoid or syphilis. We must have the generous coöperation of the State in dealing with this group. We need the strong arm of the law to compel the man to undergo physical examination and to permit medical experts and social diagnosticians to prescribe proper treatment. There should be humane vagrancy laws that will send such men to a farm colony for training and treatment rather than to jail. They should be legally detained in such training school until they cease to become anti-social and are pronounced by competent authorities to be physically and mentally fit to take their place in the competitive field of industry.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

At the beginning of this paper we defined a chief purpose of the societies for organizing charity as the rehabilitation of families in distress. The word "family" is here used in a generic sense as signifying the group unit with which we have to deal in a given situation. None of us, however, is satisfied while attempting to recover the family to self-support to overlook or leave undisturbed economic, social, or man-made causes which have plunged the family below the line of self-respecting independence. A test of

our efficiency will be the promotion of such changes in the industrial structure through social legislation that man-made poverty shall ultimately disappear. Among the things which we should champion in the interest of our prospective citizenship are the following: The elimination of feeble-minded and dangerously unfit by adequate segregation; vocational training for our boys and girls; the teaching of social hygiene; the broadening of our school curriculum to include physical examination of children, careful record-keeping of body growth and development, and expert physical training; follow-up work in the home through the school nurse and visiting housekeeper; the use of the school as a neighborhood and recreation center; wise direction of the play and sport instinct; and the development of the altruistic injunction, "Do a good turn every day," through the Boy Scout and Camp Fire Girl movements, or others of like nature. These things are all in the interest of the children of our particular families, the children who ten or fifteen years from now are to be the wage-earners and citizens. For, as we have sought to emphasize throughout this paper, the final test of our efficiency is the kind of men and women that our societies for organizing charity are making of the boys and girls in the families under treatment. Probably every one of our societies is conscious of its own inefficiency, just in proportion to its efficiency. We deplore the many things that we are leaving undone, the opportunities for service which we are losing in our task of conserving the child life of our dependent families.

SOCIAL SERVICE CLINICS

We have all welcomed the organization of social service departments in progressive hospital administration. The social clinic of the dispensary has become an indispensable part of any medical institution which applies genuine efficiency tests to its work. It occurs to me that we ourselves may learn a lesson from these social clinics. We, too, need to do more follow-up work in the homes of our applicants. How many societies are there which still treat

their clients in the office rather than in the home? How many of us can honestly claim that we follow our families much beyond "first aid" and the immediate relief of their pressing necessities? How many of us have any systematic method by which we keep in touch with these families after the immediate crisis is past? Here is where we need to take to heart our own social service teachings. What an opportunity we lose when the children slip away from us! But you say, "How can we help it?" Sure enough, we can help it only in one way—namely, by the enlistment of a devoted band of friendly visitors who will continue to act the part of the big sister and the big brother long after "first aid" has been given and material relief has ceased to be a necessity.

While we are preaching adequate relief let us also emphasize adequate friendship. It is this spiritual side of our work which, after all, is of enduring importance. This is the test of efficiency most difficult to meet. The only way we are likely to measure up to it is by taking the long view, the view that we are at work for the children who in so short a time will have families of their own.

PERSONAL TESTS

I fancy I hear you asking, "Who is sufficient for these things?" The answer is, "None of us." But we want to be. Ideals are certainly of this much value: they make us reach out after better things. Where shall we begin? May I say that we must begin with ourselves and with our Boards of Directors? Are these Boards efficient? Are their members infused with social vision? Have they the sense of community responsibility? Do they both champion and practice social justice? Do they realize that they are trustees of an organization of tremendous potential value? Are they bringing to the task of family rehabilitation and child conservation the same fine quality of energy, foresight, and devotion that they are giving to the organization of their own affairs? How shall we know? Suppose we were to institute some test of efficiency. Suppose we were to adopt a score card somewhat as follows:

THE VALUE OF TEAMWORK IN ORGANIZED CHARITY

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ORGANIZATION in charity has come into being because intelligent men and women have discovered that effort based on a purely individualistic principle does not and cannot treat effectively the problems presented by the condition of poverty in the lives and homes of our poor. With more thorough investigation and increased study of the nature and extent of this condition, with frequent experimentation upon methods of improvement, and with the accumulated experience of years of effort at alleviation, have come a clearer knowledge of the magnitude and intricacy of the task of charity and the ever-widening spread of conviction that a close union of all forces working for social betterment is essential to its complete performance.

Social workers long ago learned that there is never a single cause of poverty, and that therefore there can never be a single remedy; that to conduct any course of curative treatment in a given case it is necessary to apply a remedy equally as varied and complex as the causes which produce the condition—*i. e.*, a remedy which shall comprise those influences and forces which will resist and overcome the influences and forces causing the poverty in the specific instance. Similarly we have learned that any plans for the alleviation or abolition of poverty in the mass must be fully as comprehensive as the great plexus of causes which produces this condition in our social life.

Because of the fact that the manifestations of poverty and its causes are so numerous and complex, the evolution of charitable effort in its endeavor to promote efficiency in treatment and cure has taken the direction of specialization. Thus we have to-day a large number of agencies and societies concentrating their energies on specific parts of the problem and attaining the highest efficiency in dealing

with the particular phases of it with which they have chosen to contend. But specialization is not enough. For just as the evil forces which tend to drive and keep thousands of families and individuals below the poverty line are interrelated and engaged in the most effective coöperation, so also must the forces that are to overcome them correlate their energies and organize their strength in combined, well-ordered attack against their common adversaries. It is this sort of teamwork, this kind of coöperation among specialized agencies, that must be developed if the struggle against the influences and conditions that make for poverty, dependence, and low standards is to be waged with any hope of ultimate success. In the process of developing means and methods to solve this staggering problem of poverty the work of coördinating and correlating the activities of these specialized agencies and of promoting effective teamwork among them has naturally fallen to the charity organization society.

The charity organization society is a means to an end. Its fundamental purposes are the rehabilitation of needy families and the improvement of environmental conditions with a view toward prevention and the ultimate abolition of poverty. Offering itself chiefly as a medium of coöperation, it seizes upon teamwork as the active, energizing principle which shall make its influence for good a power in the community and by means of which it shall accomplish its lofty purposes.

The value of any instrument of method is determined by the effectiveness with which under normal conditions it produces the results for which its use is intended. This test may be applied to teamwork as a method of organized charity as well as to anything else (and it is abundantly able to stand the test), but it seems so entirely superfluous to speak of the value of coöperation in charitable effort that I am almost constrained to apologize for presuming upon your time and patience. Yet, I think you will agree with me that, although the need and desirability of thorough teamwork are perfectly obvious, it is the most difficult thing to secure in the whole wide range of philanthropic endeavor.

this result, centering its effort in the teamwork with the family itself and helping the members of it to develop their own capacities and to bolster their weaknesses. The range of coöperating agencies that may be enlisted as required will naturally proceed from the forces within the family itself outward to include teamwork with the personal forces of the family, such as relatives and friends; teamwork with its neighborhood forces, such as neighbors, landlords, merchants, pastors, Sabbath schools, doctors, employers, social clubs, educational classes, etc.; teamwork with civic forces, such as schools, courts, police and health departments, parks, playgrounds, etc.; teamwork with private charitable forces, such as relief societies, benevolent individuals, free employment bureaus, hospitals, dispensaries, visiting nurses, children's homes and agencies, etc.; teamwork with public charitable forces, such as the outdoor poor department and public charitable institutions.*

The plan which the committee has organized will also include the services of a friendly visitor who will associate herself with the family, not as investigator or almsgiver, but as a true friend. The friendly visitor will follow up the plan of treatment, see to it that the charitable and constructive forces of the coöperating agencies are directed at the points where needed, encourage the members of the family by kind, sympathetic understanding, by tactful influence, and by gentle persuasion to keep up their courage and persist in their efforts to attain a larger, happier, and more abundant life.

Such in substance is the coöperative case-work method. When its principles can be properly applied to the treatment of a needy family, it usually results in rehabilitation and the elevation of its members to a normal standard of living. The value to the family of the teamwork involved in such a plan of treatment is that it means economic and social salvation. Every plan not based on this kind of teamwork is bound to fail and is sure to aid rather than

*See Miss Mary G. Richmond's paper on "Charitable Co-operation," Proceedings National Conference of Charities and Corrections, 1901, p. 300.

retard and overcome the downward pull of circumstances and forces which cause human misery and make social wreckage.

To some persons who have not known the responsibility of case work and who have not had the experience of attempting to bring a dependent family back to a condition of independence and normal living, all these efforts to organize teamwork may appear extravagant, but let me say to them that poor people have souls as well as we ourselves. They have character, and they virtually offer it to us for such influences as we choose to exert upon it when they ask our assistance and our guidance. God forbid that we should trifle with human life! Yet that is exactly what we do when we simply see the surface needs, the cold and hunger needs, and act with reference to them alone; when we ignore the factors affecting the health, the mental, moral, and spiritual welfare of our brothers.

No one will deny that even the poorest families should share in the elements of the normal life. This is not possible except through the establishment of coöperation between the poor family and various outside social forces. Health is conserved only through the observance of the laws of hygiene and sanitation, and probably not without the services of the physician. Education is secured through the medium of schools, libraries, and other social agencies offering experience in the realm of activity and beauty. Employment is secured in coöperation with our industries and commercial activities. Recreation is found in parks, playgrounds, and commercial amusements. Spiritual development is fostered through coöperation with the Church, through association in home life, through contact with friends, and through participation in a wide range of social relationships.* The value of teamwork between the poor family and the charitable society which promotes this sort of coöperation is that it points the way to the needy family for the attainment of the normal life and opens up untold possibilities for personal and social development.

*See Porter R. Lee's pamphlet on "Treatment," published by the Russell Sage Foundation.

There is another feature of teamwork which operates to the advantage of the needy family. In every community where the charities are well organized and working in harmony there is one central bureau of investigation and registration, usually conducted by the charity organization society. To this bureau all cases are referred for diagnosis and outline of a plan of treatment. The study of the family by this agency, if properly made, is enough for all inquirers and all agencies that contemplate some form of service. The family is protected against repeated and needless investigations and relieved of the necessity of giving the sad story of its distress over and over again and reopening the wounds of misery. It is this sort of thing which has a greater pauperizing effect sometimes than even the giving of unplanned relief.

2. The value of teamwork to the charities themselves is significant. It makes for a division of labor. The various agencies in a community do not all attempt to cover the same ground, but limit their efforts to specific duties and activities and concentrate their energies upon their respective fields, thus attaining the maximum of efficiency at the expenditure of the minimum of time, energy, and money.

Teamwork effects economy. Through the registration bureau or confidential exchange the experience of all is recorded for the benefit of each, thereby increasing usefulness and preventing duplication of work and the evils of overlapping relief. Teamwork presupposes mutual understanding on the part of all social agencies, mutual sympathy, and a oneness of aim. It leads to a careful survey of the charitable needs and resources of a community, encourages the organization of new enterprises that are necessary for the welfare of the poor, and seeks to repress those societies which pass under the name of charity but which in reality lack the motive, the spirit, and the works of true charity.

But the greatest value of teamwork to the organizations that strive to improve the condition and welfare of the poor is to be found in its educational power. It inculcates the habit of coöperation which is so greatly needed among the

civic forces in every city of our land to-day. In daily use of the investigation bureau and the confidential exchange, in daily exchange of experiences and consultation, in studying together and planning together for the rehabilitation of families and the reclamation of individuals, in frequent meetings for taking united action in behalf of civic improvement, and in a hundred other ways social workers learn that they are fellow-servants in a common cause. Thus purposes, aims, and standards are unified and elevated, enthusiasm is stirred, and the joy of service is made more nearly complete in the knowledge that, through combined thinking and united action, light, hope, and happiness can be brought where before were darkness, despair, and misery.

3. The average citizen is, or should be, interested in the efforts which his city is making to reclaim his dependent neighbors and to drive out poverty from its midst. Whether he is interested or not, he shares with the community the advantages resulting from teamwork of the organized charities. If he is a contributor to charitable associations that coöperate, he knows that every dollar of his money, aside from helping some other fellow, has been a good investment in strengthening the weaker side of his city's population.

But if the individual citizen is anxious to discharge his full duty to his poorer brother, if he wishes to give *himself* as well as his money, then he also can become a party to a kind of teamwork with a family in need of his services, and the effects of this coöperative relationship will be mutually beneficial. Such a citizen will, if he be possessed of the truly coöperative spirit, recognize the necessity of expert knowledge and specialized skill in the personal contact established between himself and the dependent family or person he is trying to save, and he will enter into teamwork with the agencies whose united thinking and experienced judgment have worked out a plan of treatment suited to the needs of the case. Coöperating in this way with the family and with the agencies planning the treatment, he will in all probability be successful; and if so, he may rightly glory in the consciousness of having rendered the noblest service man can render man.

Effective teamwork will gradually draw more resourceful people into actual contact with the poor. It will educate an ever-increasing number of serious-minded men and women in the great truths and dignity of charity. It will inspire them with the nobility of personal service and offer them opportunities to engage in the highest and finest forms of human helpfulness. Think what tremendous power for good will then be generated when our organized charities become dynamic forces, media for sending out great groups of earnest, thoughtful, and determined people into the highways and byways of life to do the works of love in the spirit of true brotherhood! Then, indeed, will this world of ours be a better, brighter, and happier place in which to live.

Coöperation is essentially constructive, progressive, and democratic. Applied to the charitable effort of a community or nation, it represents the social consciousness at work against the forces and conditions which make organized charity a necessity. The practical value of teamwork or charitable coöperation as a method of rehabilitation and social adjustment will depend to a large degree upon the extent to which the social consciousness has been aroused. But it is also significant to note that the results of coöperation react to stir the social consciousness. Thus progress is made by the momentum furnished through the dynamic power of effective teamwork.

The needy family or individual, the charitable agencies, and society all share in the good which comes from systematic, concerted, and wise charitable effort. All are bound closely together in social relationships, and any good that may come to one will also reach the others. The influences and circumstances affecting the welfare of the poor will also affect the welfare of society as a whole. And so teamwork or charitable coöperation which has been found to be the great social force for redeeming and liberating the dependent is seen to be an instrument whose works redound to the common good.

THE APPLICANT FOR CHARITY—A VICTIM OR A
TEACHER

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ALMSGIVING will be continued as a method for the relief of distress until a better way of charity is substituted. I recall that at one annual meeting of our association, members of the directorate and contributors, one after another, complimented the community upon having a place to which individuals who solicited alms upon the streets and at the doors of residences could be referred. Not one of these speakers had anything to say concerning the treatment which these applicants received by the Associated Charities, and I closed the discussion by asking them if they did not wonder what happened to applicants after they reached our office. "For all you seem to know," I said, "we may asphyxiate them or throw them out of our seventh-story window." Notwithstanding none of the speakers on this occasion, other than myself, mentioned this phase of the matter, it is the one phase of our work upon which every contributor, sooner or later, determines his attitude toward it. The association that complains that donors continue to give alms to beggars, and will not refer them to it, has before it the task of convincing these donors that it is prepared to offer, and does give to these same applicants, treatment of far greater value than the relief of which the casual giver can supply. In other words, you cannot deter a community from almsgiving by harping solely upon the evils thereof. You must take the war into the enemy's country and, instead of "cussing out" the beggar and his ways, plead for and supply his deeper needs.

The applicant for charity remains the victim of neglect as long as he is left dependent upon the impulse of the casual giver. Of course, it is a mere commonplace to say that the substitute for this indifference is treatment directed toward the relief of the needs of each individual case as

these needs may be revealed by a thorough and intelligent investigation.

I want to show briefly how, when this treatment is substituted for mere relief as the method of charity, the applicant is converted from a sufferer and victim into a community teacher; how the failure to supply treatment not only leaves him a victim to his misfortune, but also neglects the great opportunity and responsibility upon organized charity, of developing, out of contact with its applicants, social forces which nothing else can supply.

In 1909 we organized in Atlanta a Special Committee on the Physical Welfare of School Children with the object of having medical inspection introduced into our public school system. A story is told in connection with the efforts of this committee which illustrates my point. The committee waited upon Hon. Robert F. Maddox, who had just recently been elected Mayor, and urged him to advocate the establishment of this system, including an appropriation for its maintenance. He thought that the Council could not find the money, that the claims upon it were so urgent and numerous that it was not even wise to push the matter, but finally agreed to advocate medical inspection in his message to the Council, and did so. Pending the visit of our committee to him and the meeting of the Finance Committee of the Council, which disapproved the appropriation, Mr. Maddox had occasion by personal observation to note the improvement in a child that had been operated upon for adenoids, and this experience led him to reassemble the Finance Committee and successfully urge, as the one thing upon which he insisted, the appropriation for medical inspection. His experience had served to confirm the value of it, as it had been urged by our committee. As a result of a thorough system of medical inspection of school children the knowledge of the prevalent defects of childhood that can be remedied by modern medical science comes to all parents, rich and poor; and what was a charity to a few becomes another fulfillment of democracy, a benefit of civilization which Mr. William H. Allen would call "a hundred per cent philanthropy."

Thus the child of poverty who receives the proper treatment as an applicant for charity becomes the teacher of democracy, and such, in a measure, can every applicant for charity become. Whether we who are intrusted with their relief serve society to the full measure of our opportunity and responsibility depends, first, upon whether we treat them according to their several needs; and, secondly, whether we digest and synthesize these needs and interpret them to communities in the form of social obligations.

Recently I had a berating from a friend for "fooling with charity," and more recently still another friend accused us of blocking progress. But the first paid us the compliment of "revealing the facts," and the other admitted that our efforts were more effective than any heretofore employed.

The fulfillment of the duty of society to the necessitous, it seems to me, is and always will be dependent upon its treatment of the individual in need. The world of nature, from which the spirit is excluded, has no care for the individual; but in the world where the spirit dwells, in the heart of men, the individual is the end of all effort. His personality alone can be a true end, since it alone has value on its own account. God's kingdom cometh one by one. We must therefore, in God's economy, recognize social needs first in the need of an individual. Society will never assume any obligation to all within any class until it has first learned of this obligation in the person of at least one individual member.

Some will say to this statement of our conception of social progress—we have no program in the sense in which they understand a program—that society already knows that every man needs sufficient food and clothing and leisure to live, and we propose to give him these things regardless of what may happen in the spiritual kingdom. To which we answer that these things are already given to our dogs and beasts of burden. The peculiar needs of the human personality are the things that you have not satisfied us that you will give.

Others say: "Christ has told you for all time what obligations to assume, and that is what you ought to be

preaching instead of wasting your time with palliatives." To these we answer that Christ put his obligations upon the individual, not upon institutions or aggregates of individuals, and that these institutions or aggregates of individuals can move only upon a basis common to those who compose them. By so much as the Church instills Christ's obligations in the hearts of men, by so much the sooner will institutions be impressed with them. Thus God builds his kingdom from personality into society, and thence back into personality.

We would not maintain, as these reformers do with us, that their work discredits ours. True, we do not sympathize with their impatience with our efforts. They offer no substitute for these efforts in their own scheme of things, notwithstanding they must recognize that they would still be necessary in some form and degree.

But, apart from academic controversy, let us consider in a little more detail this method of getting results in our own field, with our communities as we find them.

I expressed a mere commonplace when I said that "society will never assume any obligation to all within any class until it has first learned of this obligation in the person of one individual member." But this ceases to be a commonplace when "society" is used, not in the abstract, but in the concrete sense of a particular unit of society as embodied in a Church, secular organization, a city, a county, or a State. We have all no doubt sought to impose upon some such unit a social obligation which was impressed upon our minds by study of experience elsewhere, or by personal contact with the need of one or more individuals. While we have been unable to marshal the experience of other localities under such circumstances as left no doubt as to its application to our own community, we have failed. And rarely can the experience of others ever be made dynamic without being visualized by local experience.

It is when pictures of children shooting craps upon our own streets are placed side by side with a swimming pool in one of Chicago's social centers that we get our playgrounds.

It is when the Men and Religion Movement garners a hundred lewd women of our streets into a rescue home that Fulton County first learns that it also has an obligation to segregate under compulsion those of these women who reject the care and influence of the Church, and it builds a woman's reformatory.

It is when the Associated Charities has all applicants suspected of being tubercular examined by physicians, and shows Atlanta the degree in which poverty due to this cause is prevalent and unrelieved, that a strong Anti-Tuberculosis Association is organized, and city and State sanatoriums are built.

It is when the Associated Charities traces evictions of women and children from their homes to the loss of their breadwinner's earnings while he was in confinement in the city prison that a system of adult probation is established in the Police Department.

It is when the Associated Charities groups a half dozen applicants for charity into a club of men striving to overcome the liquor habit that the Presbyterian Churches of Atlanta establish a rescue home for such men. And the sooner this rescue home so investigates and treats its applicants as to be able to show conclusively where it fails to rescue because of the lack of proper custodial care and medical treatment, the sooner the State of Georgia will build an inebriate asylum.

The resources of charity are so limited that it can relieve but few of those who suffer; its historical heritage as the dispenser of alms deters many who need "not alms but a friend" from entering its portals. But if those who do come receive loving treatment they will bless its name and become themselves teachers and promoters of more adequate treatment and prevention for others in widening and ever-widening circles.

Doubtless we all recognize our duty to help our applicants to help themselves, but do we recognize our duty to help them to help our communities? Unless we recognize our duty to make them teachers of democracy, we may the more readily yield to their transient desires and the short-

sighted insistence of their would-be benefactors, which in such a large proportion of instances is for mere relief without treatment of their deeper needs. The inebriate wants money for alcohol; the deserting husband wants a railroad ticket to separate him farther from his family; the aged and infirm want groceries to tide them over into worse misery; the bankrupt patentee wishes further capital; the tubercular man wishes a license to peddle from house to house; the insane wish more liberty; the proud wish to conceal their needs from those most likely to relieve them.

If we fail to recognize that duty to society of which I have been speaking, we may yield to these harmful desires of applicants and attempt to excuse ourselves under the golden rule. Even this fails, for the golden rule, stated as usual, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you," is an imperfect rule of morality. Every one would have others do as they were asked to do, but suppose they would have you do something which you knew or ought to know to be to their injury? "Do unto others as you should have them do unto you" is more correct, is it not?

Woodrow Wilson says: "True friendship is of royal lineage. It is of the same kith and breeding as loyalty and self-forgetting devotion, and proceeds upon a higher principle even than they. For loyalty may be blind, and friendship must not be; devotion may sacrifice principles of right choice which friendship must guard with an excellent and watchful care. You must act in your friend's interest whether it please him or not. The object of love is to serve, not to win."

COUNTY ALMSHOUSES AND NEEDED REFORMS

M. A. AUERBACH, SECRETARY OF ASSOCIATED CHARITIES,
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TO GROW old is no disgrace; to be poor is no crime. The former is bound to come; the latter often visits us through conditions over which we have no control. Even if poverty is the cause of former indiscretions, it always stalks in unheralded and unwelcomed, and those who are more fortunate must lend a helping hand to minimize its effects. The requisites of a normal standard of living must and should be maintained. A good home should be provided, good food should be given, the social, moral, and physical interests should be conserved.

Most of our almshouses are removed from the city, where the inmates are seldom seen and therefore forgotten—yes, and too often neglected. Sufficient interest is not taken in the conditions of those who are sent to these institutions, therefore little has been done for their betterment. Many persons have perhaps wondered why the aged and infirm poor refuse to go to the almshouse, why so many of them say they would rather starve than be sent to the poorhouse. It is a sad commentary on our present system that the place where the aged or infirm should be cared for is thus stigmatized.

In order to awaken interest in the condition of the aged and infirm poor, the public must know of their existence and the conditions under which they live. Almshouses are public institutions, and the public should take an active interest in their management.

The almshouse movement started with the English workhouse system. It was started on the premise that the poor should work, that idleness begets crime. Those who were able to work were supplied with labor, while food and lodgings were supplied to all.

However, in this country comparatively few almshouses provide work for the inmates. Especially is this true of the

South. Inquiry has been made of over a hundred almshouses covering every section of the South, and the result of the inquiry shows that about eighty per cent of the almshouses of the South keep the sexes separate. In approximately twenty per cent of the almshouses there is no attempt to keep the men and women separate. When we consider the kind of inmates usually found in these institutions, the percentage, though seemingly small, is appalling. When we realize that many of them are derelicts, victims of previous excesses, dissolute and immoral, the percentage is alarming. Men and women of all sorts and conditions are harbored together with the supervision of usually one man who, very often, has no social viewpoint; a political appointee who, even if sincere or capable, finds it a physical impossibility to guard the moral or social welfare of the inmates. Also consider that there are many old people who have led clean, honorable lives and who by reason of misfortune find their way to the almshouse, and that these people must perforce live amid such surroundings. Can we blame these old people from rebelling at the thought of the poorhouse?

To the question, "Do any of your inmates work?" it was found that of the replies received only forty-five per cent supplied the inmates with work of any sort. Less than half of the institutions gave the inmates any chance to make themselves useful or any opportunity to pass the time pleasantly. Of course the length and kind of work must be determined by the physical condition of the inmates; but comparatively few of those committed to the almshouse cannot do some kind of work. On the other hand, idleness leads to crime. Those who have studied the care of this class of dependents have long since agreed that work keeps them out of mischief and establishes discipline.

Idleness is at the bottom of most of the evils now common to the almshouse. Alexander Johnson, than whom there is perhaps no better authority, says : "There is no more important part of almshouse administration than the employment of inmates. While their labor in many cases has little cash value, it is none the less valuable for other

reasons. It may be stated as a rule to which there is no exception that every inmate except the bedridden ones should have some employment during a part of the day, and the more fully the usual working hours are occupied, the better. In almost every institution where the inmates are required to work, some produce is raised by them. In very few, however, is enough land cultivated to keep the inmates steadily employed or to utilize even a large part of land belonging to the institutions. In other words, in most of the almshouses a large acreage of land is wasted which, if put to proper use, could be an economy to the institution or at least serve to beautify the grounds. And the beautification of the almshouse grounds is by no means a small matter. Beauty inspires; and if any one needs inspiration, if any class of people need their spirits raised, it is those who are confined in institutions narrowed enough by reason of their close association with the same faces, the same prosaic objects day in and day out."

The inquiry above mentioned brought out the fact that only in about one-third of the almshouses of the South is any provision made for old couples. True, some old couples do not care if they are separated, a few may prefer it; but no one will deny that there are many who, having spent their lives together, sharing in fortune or adversity, do not wish to spend their last days apart. Indeed, it is hard enough for the aged husband and wife to end their days as dependents without being deprived of the right of being together to the last. As a matter of fact, the poorhouse should not spell ignominy. If these institutions were enabled to carry out the principle of providing a home—in every sense of the word—to those who have been the backbone of the past generations, and if the world were sufficiently socialized, going to the almshouse would be viewed as a reward given by the State for past faithful service. Then the words of Wordsworth,

"But an old age serene and bright,
And lovely as a Lapland night,
Shall lead thee to thy grave,"

would be a reality.

Picture this sentiment with existing conditions, where the old couple, as loving and as fond as ever, is separated by a fence or sometimes by many yards, able to speak only an occasional word. Instead of having a clean, airy room adorned with pictures of those who bring back scenes of a pleasanter time, now this old couple is surrounded by the derelicts of life, the victims of viciousness, the depraved and deformed. Can we still blame them for refusing the shelter of the poorhouse?

In all work with individuals social workers are agreed that no one kind of treatment can be adopted for all. Although the economic conditions may be similar, the social conditions may be different; therefore each individual must have individual treatment, and this is possible to no small extent even in an institution. Without passing on the virtues of the "Home for the Aged and Infirm," as the almshouse on Staten Island, N. Y., is called, let us see how it contrasts with the average Southern almshouse:

New York has three poorhouses. The previous history of the applicants is ascertained, and they are placed according to their social condition. The victims of vice are separated from the victims of misfortune, and the home on Staten Island is used solely for the old couples. Here is found a line of cottages each containing about fifteen couples. To each couple is given their own room, which is kept spotlessly clean, and they are permitted to take to their rooms such objects as association has made dear. The result is that each room has some individuality, and the man and wife have a home in all that the word implies—a home to themselves where they may spend their remaining days on earth with the happiness that rightfully belongs to them.

It may be surprising to learn that many almshouses in our Southland do not follow any specific rule as to the bathing of inmates. Aside from the danger of disease within the institution, think of the probability of spreading an epidemic to the outer world when these homes admit tramps and vagrants, who go here during the cold spell and leave during milder weather, carrying whatever death-dealing germs they may have gathered in the almshouse.

One-third of the almshouses in the South admit this class of transients. Among these are found the almshouses that have no rule in regard to bathing, thereby sanctioning by their attitude the propagation of disease. The almshouse, therefore, removed though it may be from the city limits, is indeed brought closer home in all its horrifying truth. The almshouse, too, ceases to be a local problem, for these tramps and vagrants leave for other cities, scattering epidemics as they go. Every city, township, or hamlet has as great a responsibility to other cities, no matter how distant, as to the people of their own communities. It is a well-known fact that tramps harbor all kinds of loathsome diseases and are a prolific means of spreading contagion. As it is to-day, where there is no observance of sanitary regulation, if the tramp does not contract disease and spread it to the outer world, he may contract it outside and spread it within the almshouse. If tramps are to be admitted, they should have a separate department, be committed as delinquents, and made to work until the expiration of their commitment.

Most of the Southern almshouses observe the rule that inmates cannot come and go as they please. This is a good plan, for it keeps from the institution the drunkard and prostitute who seek admittance simply to recuperate between debauches. In every institution inmates are allowed to leave for short periods, either by furlough or other form of permission. Only one reply, coming from the City Home at Richmond, Va., stated that the leaving and return of the inmates is strictly regulated. In this home one day a week is allowed the inmate, who must return by 5:30 P.M. Of course it is not an easy matter to guard the conduct of the inmates who are outside of the almshouse grounds, but unless there is absolute separation of the sexes inside the grounds grave evils may spring up in the indiscriminate giving of furloughs. Many instances have been recorded of men and women forming acquaintances in the almshouse, arranging to go on a debauch together, and returning when their vicious inclinations have been satisfied. Especially is this evil augmented when there are feeble-minded women

about, as indeed there are in almost every poorhouse. These poor women, easily led, are very prolific in the propagation of their kind, and the institution is not only put to a great expense, but future generations bear the burdens emanating from the almshouse.

Inquiry also brought out the fact that in a few instances there is no woman attendant provided for the women. It may be that in the smaller institutions the superintendent's wife acts in this capacity, but this was not brought out. However, in one of the larger almshouses, the population of which is five hundred, the superintendent testifies that there is neither female attendant nor nurse. Surely there should be a nurse to care for the sick and the feeble. The manager himself reports no woman attendant! Even if his wife acts in this capacity, surely one woman is hardly sufficient to give the proper care and attention to the female portion of a population of five hundred.

It would be unfair to place on the superintendent the blame for every evil in the almshouse. In some instances it is true that the man in charge is illiterate, unsocialized, and wholly unfitted for his work. In many instances, however, the manager does the best with the means at his disposal. Some counties allow a niggardly sum for the maintenance of the almshouse, regardless of how many inmates there may be. The county commissioners feel that in reporting a smaller expenditure than the previous year or in keeping the appropriation within the same limit as in years gone by, no matter how the population of the home grows, it shows economy in management and therefore a successful administration. For instance, in one home in North Carolina no money was allowed for a system of sewerage, and the only attendant provided is a prisoner from the convict camp.

Missouri has at the same time some of the best and worst types of almshouses found in the South. Here is found the lease system in its worst form—a system whereby the superintendent leases the almshouse and is paid so much *per capita* for keeping and feeding the inmates, the State thereby interested only in economy, and entirely for-

saking its responsibility to its wards. Is there any wonder that with such conditions as here depicted disease and immorality are bred?

The inquiry developed that there is a growing sentiment among the keepers of Southern almshouses regarding the segregation and care of the tubercular patients. In most instances it was reported that this class was not only kept separate, but special provision for them was made in tents where they could enjoy the open air and thus advance their physical condition.

This knowledge as to the treatment of the tubercular is gratifying, for it shows that the continued agitation of social workers and anti-tuberculosis associations is taking effect. Yet in almost twenty per cent of the replies it was shown that no special provision is made for this class of inmates. In one-fifth of the almshouses of the South the tubercular mingle with the others, eat at the same table, use the same dishes, and spread the disease indiscriminately to young and old, strong and feeble. In these institutions, then, all health safeguards are removed, and in sending the applicants to them for protection from disease, we send them to veritable death traps. We virtually say to these applicants, "We will save you from slow starvation, but will send you to an early grave, nevertheless."

But while the tubercular fare thus, the other diseased inmates are given much less regard. In fact, in comparatively few places is any attention given the syphilitic, the cancerous, or the victims of equally loathsome or contagious diseases. The feeble-minded and idiotic also abound with the same status as those of normal mentality, and the insane with their peculiar hallucinations and their incoherent mutterings add to the general incongruity of the population. Housing all these classes under one roof is hardly conducive to the improvement of any one of these classes, to say nothing of those not so afflicted.

Imagine if you will, for instance, a woman about to give birth to a child gazing on the repulsive features of a very low-grade imbecile passing her cot, or imagine an old man or woman, feeble and nerve-worn, viewing the features of

one whose face is badly eaten by cancer or syphilis, or a respectable old couple forced to make a companion of a gibbering idiot, and you have some idea of many of our almshouses.

It is true that most of our almshouses are small institutions, and therefore cannot well have departments and classifications for every kind of inmate. But just because in these smaller institutions the various classes cannot receive the care and treatment they need, is the best argument against their being admitted to these institutions. Each State can and must afford to have institutions for the specialization of the sick, the insane, the feeble-minded. Indeed, it is a far greater expense to delay the establishment of these homes.

A large proportion of the almshouse inmates to-day are feeble-minded. The census report of 1904, the latest figures on the subject, gives 4,233 feeble-minded out of a total of 14,765 in Southern almshouses or a general percentage of over twenty-eight and one-half. In many of the individual institutions, however, the ratio of feeble-minded to other inmates is as high as fifty per cent. Without supervision, without knowledge as to their treatment and care, this race is allowed to continue and propagate their kind.

To quote Mr. Johnson again: "It would be easy to give hundreds of instances of abuse, usually sexual, of feeble-minded persons in almshouses. It is the common understanding that few or none of the women of child-bearing age escape maternity, and that their children, usually by strong-minded fathers, ordinarily inherit the mother's psychic defect in one of its various forms. . . . The conclusion is inevitable—that the feeble-minded woman of child-bearing age is not in her proper place in an almshouse; and if, perforce, she must be kept there, in default of better accommodation, then the superintendent and matrons, and the governing board, too, are under the strongest obligation to protect her against abuse and the State against her possible progeny."

Another one of the grave evils connected with the almshouse is the harboring of young children. Over seventy-five

per cent of the Southern almshouses covered by the inquiry admitted that children are housed. Some replied that children are taken in only in case of necessity—whatever that means—and others said that children are sometimes admitted. The fact remains, however, that children are taken into almshouses too freely. The number actually in our almshouses to-day could not be had; but according to the census report of 1904, there were in Southern almshouses on December 31, 1903, the following number of children:

Under 5 years of age	518
Between 5 and 9	381
Between 10 and 14	286
Between 15 and 19	358
Total	1,543

In 1904, 1,026 children under 16 years of age were of illegitimate birth and 642 were born in institutions. Since three-fourths of the almshouses still admit children, and since the South has increased its population, and since increase of population always brings with it added complex problems, it is only reasonable to believe that the number of children at present in our almshouses is decidedly greater than these figures.

To rear children in an almshouse is nothing short of criminal. It is the most certain way of foisting paupers and criminals on future generations. The power of imitation is strongest in children; and with no opportunity for developing the mind, ignorant and illiterate as they are kept in the almshouse, the daily association with the weak-minded, diseased, and pauper class is a sure guarantee of their own pauperization or criminality in the future. Is this the purpose of the almshouse? Are we going to continue the development of a class that will tend to weaken rather than strengthen the republic? Of the 1,543 children in the almshouse in 1903, 899 were under 10 years of age, 1,185 were under fifteen years of age, and 1,025 were between five and sixteen. One thousand and twenty-five children who should have been at school getting the rudiments of an education were instead being schooled in dependency. The effect that this will have on future generations may be

conjectured. One shrinks with horror at the thought of the number of additional children in the almshouses to-day, and the legacy we are leaving for posterity.

What are the essentials of a good almshouse? It should be a home where the indigent old and infirm can have adequate shelter, warmth, food, and clothing; where they can have moral, social, and physical protection. The inmates should be given work for the welfare of themselves and the improvement of the institutions. Adequate treatment should be given those suffering from any physical ailments. The old couples should be given more consideration, and when they object to being separated, provision should be made for keeping them together; unless, indeed, there are sufficient moral or physical reasons for keeping them apart. In all other instances the sexes should be kept apart, not only in the buildings, but no opportunity to form acquaintances should be given in the dining hall or on the grounds. The tramp, the vagrant, the mental defective, and the child should be removed from the almshouse and placed in institutions where they can receive the specialized treatment they require.

A capable person as superintendent should of course be a first requisite—one selected for his fitness regardless of political affiliation. William T. Cross, Secretary of the Missouri State Board of Charities and Corrections, in his study of "Politics in Public Institutions," says of the institutions in Missouri: "Those institutions that are not subject to political changes are not only the most successfully administered, but are in the front rank of institutions of their kind in the United States. On the other hand, those that are subject to political domination are usually slow to adopt new measures and methods and are subject to frequent disturbances in their management and policy of development." The politically managed institution is a loss economically which may perhaps be figured in dollars and cents, but the social loss is so much greater that figures can give no conception of the detriment.

There was in 1904 a total almshouse population of 14,755, of whom there were 1,544 children, 1,316 insane,

4,233 feeble-minded, and 302 epileptic. If the 748 blind and the 165 deaf-mutes were added, we have a total of 8,308 persons who did not properly belong in the almshouse—persons who should have been in an institution or home where their particular needs could have been given special attention. In other words, less than a decade ago, of a total population of 14,755, only 6,447, or less than forty-four per cent, of the inmates properly belonged in the almshouse.

From 1904 to 1910 the population of almshouses in the Southern States was increased to 16,020. On the same basis that prevailed in 1904, of approximately fifty-six per cent of inmates that should have been removed from these institutions, we have the figures of 8,971 persons who are not proper subjects of the almshouse, and only 7,049 out of 16,020 who should be so maintained.

The South is slowly but surely coming to realize her responsibility with regard to her almshouses. The activity now shown in Virginia is an encouraging example. That State has more almshouses than any other in the South. Many of them are small and very poorly conducted, though costly. The socially awake in that State have already taken steps to abolish the evils of the almshouse. At the last General Assembly an effort was made to abolish the small county almshouses and create instead district homes, one for each Congressional district. It is contemplated that each district home will be located on a large farm, having a hospital for the sick, a home for the aged, a workhouse and custodial care for the drunkards, non-supporters, and tramps, and an institution for the low-grade feeble-minded and idiots.

Above all, it is proposed to put in charge a trained man who, regardless of his politics, will be retained as long as he shows a knowledge of his work and an ability to carry out the purpose of the district home. Since the homes are not yet created, it would be unfair to judge, but on the face of it the plan seems one that augurs well, not only for the poor of Virginia, but for the entire population and for the future of the State.

Until some action is taken by *all* our Southern States, the almshouses will continue as institutions for the disgrace of the State and the multiplication of its social problems. Until we are aroused to the need of reform we will continue to share the blame of this system that is surely bequeathing a heavy social and physical burden on posterity. Let us give those who come to the State for protection at least a fair chance, secure for the young an equal opportunity, provide proper treatment for the sick and defective, and treat the old in a manner that will cause them to feel that they are still respected. Until this is done, the almshouse, by whatever name it is called, will continue to be only a shelter for the derelict and friendless, and the place viewed by the respectable poor with justifiable horror.

GENERAL SUPERVISION AND CONTROL OF CHARITABLE AND CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

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No problem in the field of charities and corrections has received more attention during the last quarter of a century than the question of central supervision and control of State institutions, and of State supervision of local and private institutions. But while the subject has been a source of much discussion and controversy in the National Conference of Charities and Corrections and in many State conferences throughout the North and East, it has received relatively little attention in many of the Southern States, in many of which neither boards of central control nor of central supervision have as yet been established. It will not be inappropriate, therefore, in this conference, gathered from the various Southern States, to present in a brief and general way the problems involved, and to suggest some of the advantages and disadvantages of the different forms of boards that have evolved in other sections of the country.

THE PROBLEM

The work to be performed by the State with reference to its charitable and correctional institutions involves two functions—the management or administration of its institutions, and the visitation, oversight, and supervision of them. This latter function has been extended in many States to local institutions under the management of counties and cities, and to charitable and relief agencies under private control.

The administration of an institution embraces the employment of the superintendent and other members of the staff, the expenditure of the funds appropriated to the institution, and the determination of the general policy to be pursued. Supervision, on the other hand, carries with it no power of control, but rather the power to visit, inspect, criticise, and report upon the management and discipline as applied by the governing body. Powers of administration may be vested in a separate board for each of the State institutions, or in one or more boards having control over groups of institutions of similar character, or in a single central board having complete control and management over all the State's charitable and correctional institutions. The functions of management, too, may be distributed between different boards, one board being given the financial control of several institutions, while others are given the power to employ the superintendent and other members of the staff.

The power of supervision in some cases is vested in a board of visitors, in other cases in a single commissioner of charities, but more generally in a non-salaried board which employs a secretary and other salaried assistants to carry out the details of the work. The power of supervision may be extended to the State institutions only, or it may include local public and private institutions as well.

There has been much controversy in the National Conference of Charities and Corrections as to the relative value of these two classes of boards, the one being regarded in a way as a substitute for the other. When, however, it is remembered that the two functions of administration, on the one hand, and visitation and inspection, on the other, are

really separate functions, and that each form of board may be best for the work it is intended to perform, the occasion for controversy will pass away. In fact, it has already largely passed away and we frequently find both kinds of boards existing side by side and working harmoniously together in the same States.

GROWTH OF SUPERVISORY BOARDS

The supervisory boards came first in order of time. During the years 1863 to 1869 they were established in six States, and up to 1885 in twelve. At the present time twenty-one States have advisory boards, while two have single commissioners of charities with powers of supervision. The States having advisory boards are: California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Virginia. New Jersey and Oklahoma have a single commissioner of charities: appointed by the Governor in New Jersey, and elected by the people in Oklahoma.

The advisory boards of charities vary considerably in size, ranging from five to twelve members. They serve from two to twelve years, and ordinarily receive no compensation for their services. They are, in general, appointed by the Governor, and have the power to visit and inspect all State institutions and in most cases all local public institutions such as jails, almshouses, and local hospitals. The amount of supervision of private charities varies very greatly in the different States. In some States, as Tennessee, they have no power at all. In others, as New Jersey, their powers extend to all private institutions where wards of the State are kept. In still others, as Maryland and Michigan, their powers extend to all institutions receiving public aid; while others, as Colorado, Massachusetts, and New York, confer upon their boards supervisory control over all private agencies practically without exception.

The State Board of Charities of Virginia may be taken as a type of the purely advisory board just described. This

board was established by an act approved March 13, 1908. It consists of five members appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate. The term of office of the members is five years, one member retiring every year, thus bringing about a continuity of policy in the management of the board. The members of the board receive no salary except when engaged in conducting special investigations under the order of the Governor. At such times they receive five dollars a day and necessary expenses. The board has power to employ a secretary, who shall receive a salary not to exceed \$2,000 and his necessary traveling expenses. No person while a member of the board or within twelve months after retirement is eligible to the office of Secretary. The board may employ assistants to the Secretary, and the act appropriates \$5,000 for the purpose of paying salaries and maintaining an office at the State Capitol.

The duties of the board are strictly visitorial and advisory, without executive and administrative powers. It is made the duty of the board as a whole, or by a committee of its members, or by its Secretary or Assistant Secretary, "to visit, inspect, and examine, once a year or oftener, the State, county, municipal, and private institutions which are of an eleemosynary, charitable, correctional, or reformatory character, or which are for the care, custody, or training of the defective, dependent, delinquent, or criminal classes." State institutions must be visited as often as once in six months. It is also the duty of the board to inspect and report upon the workings and results of charitable institutions or associations engaged in the care and protection of homeless, dependent, defective, and delinquent children and adults. The reports of these investigations are kept on file in the office of the board, and copies are sent to the Presidents of boards of supervisors in the counties and the Presidents of the councils in the cities, and to the officials who are in charge of the respective institutions. Managing officials are required to facilitate these investigations and to make quarterly reports to the board. All plans for new jails, reformatories, and almshouses must be submitted to

the board for its suggestions and recommendations before the work of construction begins. The board collects and publishes statistics regarding the dependent, defective, and delinquent classes, both in and out of institutions within the State, and such other data as may be of value.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE BOARDS

The modern growth of boards of control began in Rhode Island in 1869, when a number of State institutions grouped on a farm were put under the management of one board. The second board of this type was established in Kansas in 1873, and was followed in 1881 by Wisconsin. The rapid development of this form of board, however, has come during the last fifteen years, during which time about fifteen such boards have either been established or have undergone reorganization in such fashion as to make them practically new boards. There are now some eighteen States having what may be called central boards, clothed with administrative power, while a number of other States have centralized the management of certain groups of institutions under single boards. In Texas, for example, the two State penitentiaries and some half dozen or more State prison farms have been combined under the management of a prison commission of three men, receiving salaries of \$3,600 per year.

The growth of these central boards of control is the most striking development in the field of State administration in recent years. While some of the boards have only a few institutions under their control, as that of Kentucky, which has the management of the three insane asylums and the school for the feeble-minded, others are charged with the administration of all the State charitable and correctional institutions. Thus the Ohio board, established in 1911, has the management of eighteen State institutions, while that of Illinois, established in 1909, controls twenty-one. The West Virginia board, established in 1909, has the complete control and management of all the State charitable and correctional institutions, and in addition has the *financial* control of the State's educational institutions, including the

State University, the agricultural college, and the normal schools. The California Board of Control has the financial control, including the purchase of supplies but not the employment of the superintendents, of all the State charitable and correctional and educational institutions, and in addition the various departments of the State government, making up the estimates to be presented to the legislature as a basis for the appropriations.

The result of this development of central control has placed practically all of the State's administrative functions in the hands of small compact bodies of men serving for periods varying from two to six years. The number of members varies from three in Arizona, California, Iowa, Kansas, and other States to five in Illinois, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Wisconsin, and Wyoming; while Delaware places the management of her one institution in the hands of a board of nine and pays them a salary of four dollars per day when engaged in the actual performance of their duty. The salaries of members of the boards in other States vary from \$1,500 in South Dakota to \$4,500 in Minnesota, \$5,000 in Ohio and West Virginia, and \$6,000 in Illinois.

COMBINATION BOARDS

In some of the States an attempt has been made to combine the power of supervision with the power of administration in the hands of the same group of men. Thus for a great many years the Rhode Island State Board of Charities, a non-salaried board established in 1869, carried on the work of administration as well as that of supervision. A more striking illustration, because on a much larger scale, is found in Wisconsin, where the supervisory board, after existing for ten years along with an administrative board, was abolished in 1891. Since that time its functions have been performed by a salaried board of administrators. The history of this board has been so interesting and its work covers such a wide field that it will repay a little closer examination.

Established in its present form in 1891, the Wisconsin Board of Control consists of four men and one woman ap-

pointed by the Governor for a term of five years, continuity of policy being secured by overlapping terms. The members give all their time to the work of the board and receive a salary of \$2,500 per year. They employ an expert secretary and such other help as may be necessary. The board has complete control of eleven State institutions and has on its pay rolls over eight hundred people, the monthly salary list amounting to nearly fifty thousand dollars.

The powers and duties of the Wisconsin board were recently summarized as follows by Mr. Allan D. Conover, formerly President of the board:

It has the entire management of the eleven State institutions. This includes the annual election of the superintendents, the approval or disapproval of appointments to the officer class nominated by superintendents, the authorizing in advance of monthly purchase of supplies, the making of contracts for all staple supplies. It is its duty to investigate charges of wrongdoing made against superintendents or employees.

It determines the policies of the institutions within the limits of the law.

It acts as a board of parole for the inmates of the Industrial School for Boys, the Reformatory, and the State Prison, for that purpose meeting quarterly at each of these institutions.

It acts as a commission in lunacy to determine the mental condition of inmates recommended for transfer from one State institution to another, and causes such transfer to be made in any proper case.

It must visit and inspect each State institution once in each month.

It must visit twice each year the State Soldiers' Home and report annually to the Governor as to the character of its management. This institution is managed by a board elected by the State Grand Army Association.

It grants or refuses to counties desiring to construct and maintain county asylums for the chronic insane, authority for their construction. It passes upon plans and specifications for the construction of such county asylums and upon their fitness when completed.

It must visit and inspect each county asylum at least once every three months, and must examine thoroughly into its sanitary condition, water supply, safety from fire, etc., twice in each year.

It has supervision over county poorhouses, but little actual power to remedy conditions except by influencing public sentiment. In a majority of cases, however, the officially expressed suggestion of the board has much the effect of law. It must visit these institutions yearly.

It must also inspect yearly all county jails and city and village lockups. It has power to cause repairs to be made and in proper cases

to condemn and have rebuilt improper structures used for these purposes.

It annually makes settlements between the counties and the State on account of aid granted by the State to the counties for maintaining county asylums for the chronic insane and on account of sums due from the counties to the State for the care of their inmates in the hospitals for the insane, the Home for the Feeble-Minded, the Industrial School for Boys, and the State Tuberculosis Sanatorium.

It is required to visit and inspect yearly all private charitable institutions incorporated under the State laws, but its responsibilities relative to those institutions are not clearly defined.

There has been lately added a duty, one of the most difficult of all—the organizing and management of a State-wide probation service for first offenders who would otherwise be committed to the State penal institutions.

STATES WITH BOTH KINDS OF BOARDS

An interesting development in recent years is the attempt on the part of several of the States to operate both kinds of boards at the same time. As stated above, Wisconsin had both an advisory board and an administrative board for the ten years from 1881 to 1891. In 1900 Minnesota abolished its advisory board and established its central board of control, but in 1907 the advisory board was revived as the Board of Visitors. When Illinois established her Board of Administration in 1909, she abolished the Board of Public Charities, but created in its stead a board of charities commissioners. The two boards seem to be working harmoniously together, which can hardly be said of the Minnesota boards. In 1909 Oklahoma added a central board of control to her elective charities commissioner, while Ohio and California followed suit in 1911 and Rhode Island in 1912. It is too early to predict how the two kinds of boards will get along together where they occupy the same field. The danger is that friction may arise; that boards of control will object to having their management inspected and criticised by the other board, and that it will ignore the suggestions made by the advisory body. As yet, however, no serious complaint has been heard except in Minnesota, where the Board of Control was in possession of the field and considered itself well established before the Board of Visitors was created.

BACKWARD CONDITION IN SOUTHERN STATES

The group of States represented in this Congress has been slow to avail itself of the stimulating leadership of State boards of charities on the one hand, and of the economies of central administration on the other. Of the thirteen States having no central boards, either advisory or administrative, seven are in the South. They are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas. The other six States that have no central boards are Idaho, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, and Vermont—all weak and, with the exception of Vermont, new States of the West. And even of this group Oregon once had an advisory board of charities, which was abolished by designing politicians in 1893 because of its "progressiveness and offensive nonpartisanship."

However, in justice to this group of States it should be pointed out that some of them have introduced some of the features of central supervision and control. Alabama has a State prison inspector with advisory powers over county jails and lockups as well as over the State prisons. That State also has a board of eleven non-salaried members which has control of three of the eleven State institutions. Arkansas has a board called the State Board of Charities which has control of four of the seven State institutions, while in Texas the penal institutions are managed by a central board of prison commissioners. In 1911 the legislature of South Carolina passed a bill establishing an advisory board of charities, but it fell beneath the veto of the Governor.

STRONG POINTS OF THE ADVISORY BOARD

1. The board through its expert secretary keeps the public informed as to the care and treatment received by the dependent wards of the State.
2. On account of its impartial character it serves as a protection to honest and competent superintendents, against all unfounded attacks in the press or in the legislature. If a charge of cruelty or mismanagement is made, the Secretary of the advisory board proceeds at once to make a thorough investigation, and the Governor, the legislature, and

the press are immediately supplied with all the essential facts in the case. If abuses exist, they will be eliminated the sooner if the facts are made known. If no abuses exist, the slanderous charges should be refuted and the public mind set at rest. This important service can best be performed by a body not connected with the actual management of the State institutions.

3. The members of the board, and especially the Secretary, become valuable agencies in improving and standardizing the management of the institutions. By visiting all the State and local institutions, the jails, almshouses, and the rest, and by his attendance upon State and national conferences, the Secretary gains a vast fund of knowledge and experience which he can pass on to institutional heads and local officials and commissioners' courts.

4. The most valuable work of the advisory board is its education of public opinion on all questions of charities and corrections. Through its expert help it collects and publishes statistics, investigates conditions, and suggests remedies for existing evils. It can take the lead in holding conferences, not only of interested citizens, but of State and local officials as well, such as superintendents and prison wardens, jailers, health officers, and officials charged with the construction and care of almshouses.

In this connection it will not be amiss to quote Governor Marshall's opinion of the work of the Indiana State Board of Charities. In a recent address before the State Conference of Charities and Corrections he said: "I want to tell you a beautiful thing about the Board of State Charities, and I claim no credit for it myself. It has taken no backward step since its creation. It is the one body to present legislation which has proved to be absolutely correct. The rest of us are just experimenting. We try a thing, and then when it does not work we try something else, but this Board of State Charities has sounded the depths as I believe in accordance with the article, 'Follow Thou Me.'* What it has proposed has been along the line of Christian civilization and Christian training and is therefore successful."

*An article published in the *Survey* of October 5, 1912, by Mrs. Abbie Fellows Bacon, which the Governor had taken as his text.

ADVANTAGES OF ADMINISTRATIVE BOARDS

Among the advantages claimed by the friends of central boards of control may be mentioned the following:

1. Economy of management. Central administrative boards by purchasing for several State institutions at the same time can always secure better prices and better terms than when each institution is managed by a separate board.

2. Standardization of the service. A central board can standardize the administration of the several institutions under its control, introducing uniformity into their books and accounts, and paying the same salaries and wages for similar grades of work.

3. Fixing of responsibility. With a single salaried board in control of all the State institutions there can be no divided responsibility. The men who are paid to administer the institutions cannot shirk responsibility for any inefficiency or irregularity in the affairs of the institutions they control.

OBJECTIONS TO CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE BOARDS

The objections urged against central boards of administration are:

1. That their time is so completely taken with the business and financial affairs of the institutions that they have little time to think of the humanitarian side—the cure of the defective, the education of the dependent, and the reform of the vicious.

2. That the smaller institutions are not as well looked after as the larger and those that may be so managed as to make a financial showing for the board.

3. That by abolishing the local or separate boards and substituting a single board with its office at the capital the institutions are removed farther from the people upon whom they must ultimately depend for support.

4. That central boards of control have little time or inclination to disseminate information and cultivate that healthy public opinion upon which all successful relief and correctional work must ultimately depend.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

In conclusion I can do no better than quote the conclusions set forth in Professor Frank Fetter's report to the National Conference of Charities and Corrections at its sessions in Buffalo in 1909:

1. The first and most essential condition for the humane, economical, and progressive conduct of the State philanthropic institutions is the exclusion of partisan politics. The merit system of appointment should prevail; and for this end the one essential is not any particular form of board necessarily, but is the forbidding of partisanship and favoritism by strict laws backed by a moral and intelligent public opinion regarding the merit system in penal and charitable institutions.

2. The sound growth of the philanthropies of the State requires a large measure of participation by citizens in philanthropic work, thus developing intelligent interest in the wards of the State and an understanding of the difficulties and needs of the institution. This ideal is greatly advanced by a complete system of supervision, maintained by a non-paid or nominally paid board with paid secretary and assistants covering the State as a whole.

3. The supervisory boards should, much more fully than most of them have done in the past, take the initiative in the formulation of a progressive philanthropic policy for the State.

4. The local jails should be brought under the supervision of a central board in each State, pending a complete centralization of control of the minor penal institutions of the State.

5. State supervision of local public charities, both institutional and outdoor relief, should be provided in every State, and local county visiting committees may helpfully co-operate with the State supervisory board.

6. State supervision of private charities, without interference with religious or other private matters, should be based on the recognition of the public nature of these associations, implied not only in public aid in the form of money, but in exemption from taxation, and in their State incorporation, and involved necessarily in the social character of the problems with which they deal.

VII. SAVING PEOPLE IN TRANSIT

The South's Immigrant Problem

The Travelers' Aid Work of America

1

THE SOUTH'S IMMIGRANT PROBLEM

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THE South has no alarming immigrant problem, except as it shares the problems of the nation; but, since it is in the act of inviting immigration, it may be said to be in the process of creating an immigrant problem. Within the territory south of the reputed Mason and Dixon's line and east of the west line of Texas the census of 1910 found 1,007,000 immigrants and 1,824,214 of foreign parentage, or 2,828,238 in all out of a total population of 32,480,243—only 9 per cent. The negro population is more than three times as large as the foreign population. Of the total foreign population, Texas had 601,937, Missouri 747,036, Maryland 296,017, Kentucky and Louisiana 165,000 each, Oklahoma 134,132, West Virginia 114,710, and none other above 70,000. During the four years from 1906 to 1910 43.3 per cent of the immigration went to the Middle Atlantic States, 20.6 per cent to the East North Central States, 14.6 per cent to New England, and 21.4 per cent to the remainder of the country. Texas received 40,000 and West Virginia 22,623 in those four years.

From these figures it may be seen that the immigrant problem is not yet acute in the South, although it is becoming quite prominent in Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Missouri, Kentucky, and West Virginia. Immigration stations are in process of erection or have been completed at Charleston, New Orleans, and Galveston, while plans for a new station at Baltimore have been adopted. Immigrants entering the United States through Southern ports, including Baltimore, in 1911 were 55,408, and in 1912 were 56,153. When all these new immigration stations are completed and the Panama Canal is opened, the South may expect a good proportion of the immigrants to enter through her ports.

When it is remembered that already immigrants and their children constitute 62.9 per cent of the population of New York, 63.1 per cent of Connecticut, 66 per cent of

Massachusetts, 68.7 per cent of Rhode Island, 56.6 per cent of New Jersey, 51.9 per cent of Illinois, 55.5 per cent of Michigan, it may be seen that the day is at hand when strenuous efforts will be made by these States to turn immigration into other channels. The congestion in the Northern cities cannot be continued. The immigrants on their own initiation will be compelled to seek new fields in order to secure employment. The development companies of the South, composed of the representatives of railroads, steamships, large planters, and manufacturers, have already been formed and are endeavoring to bring immigrants to all the Southern States. It is generally conceded that the South to-day offers the largest opportunity for investments and economic developments of all the sections of the United States. Labor in large quantities will be more and more in demand as mineral resources are sought, industrial plants are established, and the vast territory for agriculture is developed. Already the cry has gone up from many parts of the South for more and better labor. Negro labor is not entirely satisfactory in the new development of the South. The immigrant who has already come has proved himself to be a genuine industrial asset in the community and has prepared the way for many of those who are still beyond the sea. Immigration offers the best means of furnishing the South with the labor which it now needs.

The South is largely an agricultural section, consequently the immigrants who have come are, in large measure, as in Texas and Louisiana, tillers of the soil. The future immigrant is desired for agriculture. In Oklahoma and West Virginia many immigrants are miners in the coal fields. In Florida some colonies are cigar makers and some are sponge fishers. In the cities the immigrant is for the most part a trader. The immigrant problem is in no sense industrial, but moral. As a student the South seeks to know how to deal with the immigrant, what to expect of him, and what he has the right to expect of her citizens. The principles by which an immigrant population is anywhere assimilated and directed she will gladly help to apply and enforce.

There are fifteen million immigrants in the United States and nineteen million persons who are the sons and daughters of immigrants. Last year the recruits to our immigrant population numbered 838,172, and the year before 878,587. What do these new elements brought into our population portend? Their peaceful and well-meant invasion cannot fail to arouse the interest of students of social complications and to quicken the activities of the defenders of national integrity and the promoters of moral progress. Shall they be regarded as that many perils to the nation and problems for society, or as that many factors in the national development and opportunities for the establishment of a mightier world-wide brotherhood?

Why should an immigrant ever be a problem, become a problem, or create a problem? If men were always full, perfect human beings, and not, as some one has said, simply candidates for humanity, then there would be no immigrant problem, and their emigration from one land to another or their change from one people to another would not radically affect their own personalities or introduce new and possibly revolutionary elements into the society which they may enter. But the truth is, there are not only delinquents and criminals among all peoples, but humanity up to this date has developed in clans with its temper, purpose, and method of life limited and typed by the various tribes of the world, and as a consequence the unity of the race has yet to be established. It is upon this master service that the world has entered in this generation, directed by the ideals which Jesus of Nazareth set forth in his teachings on the kingdom of God. The world man is in the making. The ingredients that are to enter into his composition must be drawn from the best specimens which the various clans can contribute and they are to be welded in the highest civilization which the world has produced.

An immigrant is not merely an individual with certain powers and idiosyncrasies; he is the epitome of a civilization, the representation of the mental attitude, the moral purpose, and the religious experience and expression of a nation. He brings with him the temper, purpose, and

method of life of his people. He cannot surrender these at the port of entry, for they are his only standards by which he is to judge the civilization that he meets and estimate the values which the new world may present. To him his customs and habits are valid, his ideas of government are true, his religious faiths are incontrovertible, and why should he not retain them and even establish them in the new land? America may be well enough for Americans, but why may he not have his little Italy, or little Germany, or little Greece, or little Russia? It is this attitude of mind which has much to do with making immigrant problems.

America is not merely a country with fertile soils, rich mineral deposits, large industrial plants, vast commercial enterprises, and great wealth-producing institutions; she is the trysting place of the clans of the earth, where comprehensive plans for human development are formulated and where well-defined social, national, and religious ideals are being set up and wrought out. Professor Steiner says: "To me America is not a land of mighty dollars, but a land of great ideals." In order to establish thoroughly and maintain permanently these ideals that are fundamental in American life, thought, and government the conditions under which the people, immigrant and native, live must be kept under the control and direction of those forces that harmonize with the principles and purposes of the founders of the republic. The United States owes its preëminence in the Western Continent to the fact that the dominant forces in the laying and establishment of the foundations of the republic were represented by the plow and the open Bible while the conquering forces in other American nations were represented by the sword and the crucifix. Industry that enriches the land and its people and an intelligent religious faith that enlightens and enlarges its adherents have signally marked the civilization that has been built up in the United States. America now symbolizes to the world industrial and economic progress, individual and civic liberty, broad and constructive intelligence, unlimited and sovereign democracy, and a masterful Christian faith unhampered by governmental restraints and unshackled by priestly bans.

The conservation of our national ideals, the promulgation of our national convictions, and the promotion of our national spirit should be the consuming purpose of every patriotic American citizen. Any conditions, however introduced or developed, that may impair and imperil our political, social, intellectual, and religious ideals must be regarded as not only inimical to the welfare of the republic, but also disastrous to the highest interests of newly acquired immigrants and of world-wide humanity. The immigrant problem, therefore, for the South, as for the United States, is fundamentally moral and becomes acute wherever the incoming peoples, because of ignorance, fail to comprehend the meaning of America; or, because of malicious intent, undertake to set aside or render noneffective those ideals by which the republic has come to its great power.

Immigration is the result of man's effort to better his physical, political, and social condition. The chronic economic distress, with pitiable starvation wages, the bitter political oppression, and merciless social ostracism of Southern and Eastern Europe and Western Asia constitute conditions from which human beings will gladly escape, and that without remorse. The iron, if not heartless, rule of Russia, Turkey, and Hungary have made millions of their people welcome the opportunity to flee to America. There are 5,000,000 Jews in Russia who are so harassed by law and lawlessness that they would with great glee come to America to-day if they could get here. Like their forefathers, they are wanderers in a wilderness and in a real sense are on the way to a new promised land. Of the 11,000,000 Jews in the world, 2,000,000 are now in the United States, and half of the remainder or more will probably be here in another twenty-five years. The largest increase in immigration among the Poles, of whom we now have 1,000,000, and of whom 90,000 came last year, is to be looked for from Russian Poland, where industrial and political conditions are growing worse. Turkey's past barbaric treatment of her subjects has driven in the last ten years 90,000 of them to the United States. The tyranny of the Magyars has driven many thousands from the subject provinces of the

Austrian Empire. Political oppression has had no small part in peopling our land from the foreign nations.

Whatever influence political oppression may have had, it must be admitted that an overwhelming majority of the 15,000,000 immigrants came to America for industrial and economic reasons. They will continue to come until the economic opportunities at home approach those they find in America. It must also be confessed that many have come more often upon the ardent solicitation of the representatives of American capital than upon their own initiative. The paid agents of steamship companies, railroads, and employers of labor have told in the towns and villages of all Southern Europe wonderful tales of the fabulous prices paid for labor in America. As a result the horrible steerage of the ocean steamers, which should no longer be tolerated by Christian nations, has been a veritable gold mine to the ship companies. Not only so, but the owners of railroads, the builders of public works, and the operators of mines and factories have grown exceedingly rich by the toil of these hard-working foreigners. Having exhausted the labor supply of Northern Europe, which needs its strength for the upbuilding of its own industries, the American capitalists deemed it necessary to find new human forces in order to increase their wealth by developing the vast untouched natural resources, and so they have ransacked Southern Europe for laborers and have brought them by the millions to the United States. This explains the fact that for the last decade two-thirds of the immigrants to this country have come from Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Russia. From 1900 to 1910 the increase in the number of immigrants from Southern and Southeastern Europe was 3,215,689. During the past year about 68 per cent of the immigrants came from the countries of Eastern and Southern Europe and Western Asia, while only 19 per cent came from Northern and Western Europe. Italy supplied 157,134, Austria 85,854, Hungary 93,028, Turkey 27,269, Greece 21,449, while Russia furnished 162,395. Of the total 838,172 that entered, 231,170 were women and children, 184,154 gave their occupation as farm laborers, 7,664 as farmers, 135,726 as labor-

ers, and 116,529 as servants, while 10,240 classed themselves as merchants and dealers. There were 257 bankers and manufacturers.

Congress has endeavored to end induced immigration, not only by its restrictions upon alien contract laborers, but also by its prohibition of the stimulation of immigration by advertising and other means used in foreign countries by employers or by steamship companies or other like concerns. The extensive deportations in the past year amounting to 16,057, and in 1911 to 22,349, will so reduce the profits that have attached to the business of inducing immigration that it will be necessarily discontinued. The companies in America never write directly for laborers, but one of the laborers already employed gives the order to the correspondent in Europe after he has received it orally and indirectly.

The perils of immigration have arisen from the gross purposes that have frequently promoted it and the sordid use to which it has been too often put. Humanitarian considerations have been kept in the background, if they really existed. The dominant thought and purpose seem to have been to commercialize the European peasantry and use it up along with the national resources of this country in order to increase some individual's or some corporation's wealth rather than to develop the immigrant and the great republic. The threatening social evils which have been developed, such as hostile socialism, destructive trades-unionism, and bold and blatant anarchy, are the logical results of the greed, commercialism, and sordid capitalism which have used up human bodies and human families of those who under fascinating promises have come or been brought to America. When employers dismiss older employees in order to make room for new arrivals, because these are willing to work for a lower wage and are more easily contented, an industrial disturbance is inevitable. Industrialism, commercialism, and capitalism cannot escape much of the disastrous results of immigration and the perils and problems which the immigrant creates for society. The barbaric instincts of a warlike people will resent and resist oppression,

whether political, social, or industrial. A genuine humanitarianism, sympathetic interest, and noble moral principles are essential to the protection of society against the perils of immigration.

Many rash and unfounded statements have been made about the immigrants who have come and are coming to this country. With wild abandon some speakers in the heat of missionary enthusiasm have spoken of their paganizing us. Some have claimed that America was being made the dumping ground of the nations, where they deposit their undesirable and worthless citizens. One enthusiastic speaker exclaimed: "We are landing annually a million paupers and criminals." Those who talk so wildly need to stop and consider what they are saying. They need to examine the immigration laws of the country. In 1875 only two classes, criminals and prostitutes, were excluded; but now nineteen classes are excluded, among them being idiots, insane, imbeciles, paupers, procurers, persons likely to become a public charge, persons with loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases, and persons whose physical or mental defects prevent them from earning a living. It is true that certain national perils have had their origin in immigration. The white slave traffic was begun and has been carried on largely by foreign-born persons. Socialism is largely an importation, while anarchy owes its birth and support almost entirely to foreign peoples. Jacob Riis says of many of the foreigners that they come to us "with the continental idea of the Sabbath, the socialist's idea of property, the anarchist's idea of government, and the atheist's idea of religion." The evils of the whisky traffic, the desecration of the Sabbath, the corruption of the ballot, and the belittling of the marriage relation are due in large measure to the immigrant. But, on the other hand, who that is acquainted with the history of this country can be unmindful of the advantages that have accrued from immigration? It is not only true that almost one-third of the people in the United States are foreign-born or of foreign parentage, but it is also true that a very large per cent of the rest upon investigation will soon find a foreigner in their ancestral line.

The President of the United States is the grandson of an immigrant and two members of the Cabinet are foreign-born, and who would question their Americanism? The foreigner has in large measure built the nation's railroads, dug its canals, constructed its streets, and policed its cities. How can the nation's industries go on without him? Commerce and finance, culture and development have not suffered by the presence of the foreigner. The strong have come to our shores more often than the weak, and America has gained in the physical, mental, and spiritual qualities of her citizens as a result.

The scientists have expressed the view that in the animal kingdom keener sensibilities and enlarged capabilities result from a mixture of species. The American is a composite people, and to this fact is due no little of its sensitiveness and responsiveness to stimulus and the consequent characteristics of acuteness, inventiveness, resourcefulness, and unmeasured ability for mighty constructive work. His early progenitors were themselves a composite people, and this has had much to do with giving the Anglo-Saxon a priority among, if not superiority over, other peoples. In America are being fused the forces that will create the human beings who will be most capable of carrying forward all the world's interests without loss to the world's peoples. The mingling of the races in this great melting pot of the nations under the scientific tutorage and direction of the present age is not a condition to be shunned, but rather to be invited.

The benefit to the immigrant is in no sense small. He not only has the opportunity of living more easily and better, but the civic and social atmosphere in properly directed communities expands his thought, life, and purpose. When he returns to his native land he goes as the apostle of light, liberty, and truth to those who are locked in by their prejudice and superstition, and who have been untouched by the spirit of progress. A Hungarian statesman said: "America is our leaven and will yet be our salvation." The student tourist who visited Southern Europe ten years ago and who visits now will bear witness to the marvelous beneficent influence which the returned immigrant has had upon his

native land. A Hungarian pastor said: "The returned immigrant is a new man. He comes himself differently, he commands the respect of his fellows, he treats his wife better, and he keeps the windows of his house open." It must be remembered that while 838,172 immigrants came to the United States last year, 333,262 went to their old homes. In 1911, 878,587 came and 295,666 went back. The Chinese laundryman and cooly, the Japanese vinedresser, the Slav miner, the Italian tailor, the Syrian and Greek trader have taken more to their homelands, vastly more, than their small financial accumulations. The immigrant can never return the same as when he went out, for he has been touched by the spirit of America, and that is little less than the world at its best. Thrift, industry, public spirit, desire for education, new appreciation of constitutional government, and new regard for domestic and social relations have resulted from the life of the immigrant in America. The world is being Americanized, not only by its own agencies, but as well by the influence of those who have spent some years in this land and have touched the life and felt the spirit of this civilization.

Immigration is by no means a necessary industrial, social, moral, or religious disaster; but it becomes a threatening peril when it vitiates the moral and religious atmosphere and renders noneffective the great institutions of this country. The Jew knows that this is a Christian country, but to him the Cross has never symbolized liberty or rest. He comes in an attitude of mind that is antagonistic to Christianity and its institution. His increasing numbers, wealth, and influence have made him outspoken, if not defiant, in his opposition to the use of the Bible in our public schools. He must be won to a new idea of Christian civilization. The Greeks and Syrians come to trade. American Christianity and Christian institutions are unknown to them and they come not to learn. The Italians, the most volatile and perhaps the most clannish of our foreign population, have come largely from southern crowded cities with unspeakable vices. Religion is largely a matter of rites and ceremony, with moral relations largely in the background. The Slavs, from

the various provinces of Russia and Austria-Hungary, are, for the most part, peasants in their less ignorance and superstition, or mountaineers in their barbarity and fanaticism, and all adherents of a religious faith distressingly crude in comparison with the religious beliefs of the peoples in America. Judaism and Greek Orthodoxism, coming in large quantities with low moral ideals and incompetent and incongruous religious conceptions, put a strain upon the civilization of this republic which amounts almost to a disaster. This is the real immigrant problem. How can these people, with their various racial instincts, peculiar physical constitution, uncertain moral standards, inadequate if not false religious beliefs, be so assimilated by this republic as to strengthen rather than weaken the great fundamental ideals—political, social, moral, and religious—for which our nation stands?

Immigration to the United States, or to any section thereof, in this day must be looked upon as the assumption of tremendous moral responsibility by the people of this country. This unorganized heterogeneous mass of humanity must be assimilated, brought to American standards, socially, intellectually, politically, and religiously, and be made a constituent and contributing part of the body politic. It must not be allowed to remain foreign in thought, speech, or action. This country must be their country, but no less our country. No solution of any immigrant problem will be possible until society sees its moral obligation and begins to fasten proper humane ideals and convictions upon those who make and maintain the conditions in which the immigrants live and labor. The immigrant is a human being with feelings, ideals, and convictions, and must be treated as such. Immigration becomes a peril when the immigrant is made the victim of a germ-laden tenement house, a fiery furnace in a foundry, a death-dealing explosion in a coal mine, and a dusty, sooty break on a coal tippie. In the coal-mining industry in the United States 23,000 lives have been sacrificed in the last ten years. Immigration becomes a peril when foreigners and their families fall into the hands of employers who are concerned only in the net profits of

their labor, without thought for their homes, for their schools, for their social and spiritual development. More immigrant problems are made for society by the men who control their living than by the immigrants themselves. The first step to be taken in enabling the South to meet its obligation to the immigrants now in her territory and to those who are entering and will enter her ports is to create a proper disposition toward them on the part of the people of the South, and especially on the part of those who are to be employers, landowners, and have control of the premises upon which they live and the factories and farms where they toil. Humane treatment toward them now may bring humane consideration when they become masters of our national destiny. The atmosphere in which they live affects not only them, but the interpretation of America and its life which they are giving and will give to those in the native land.

The perils of immigration may be largely avoided by proper immigration laws, by humanitarian treatment on arrival, by suitable surroundings of the place of residence and labor, by proper social and educational advantages, and adequate provision for the direction and development of their religious nature. With large intelligence this question must be answered: What additional restrictions should be put upon immigration in order to protect the people and institutions of this country against the destructive influences of certain possible undesirable immigrants? Who are undesirable? The nation, or a section, should command the sources of its immigration and make way only for those who can be made honest, intelligent, patriotic citizens, and who will contribute to the development of the nation and the national ideals. "America for Americans" is a correct sentiment if by it is meant that those who make America their home shall be, or become, Americans in spirit; but it is very false if it means that America belongs to those who were born in it. America does not belong to the citizens of the United States, but to the world. It must perform a world function. But this will be impossible if it is laden with men of physical and mental incompetencies, moral inconsisten-

cies, and provincial prejudices. The creation of a world-citizenship, pure, intelligent, and patriotic, upon the basis of brotherhood of man as taught by the Galilean is the supreme task of this great republic. This spirit of brotherhood should cause the religious organizations of this country to maintain at all ports of entry a company of representatives to extend a welcoming hand, good cheer, and any needed assistance to every newcomer that is admitted by the government. The attitude of the immigrant on the threshold of the nation should be made favorable to the new country by a manifested interest in his welfare. When he comes to his new place of residence and labor, he should find such provisions for his home and social life, for the education of his children, and for the cultivation of his religious nature as will be necessary to the proper development of himself and his family.

The immigrants come from industrial and economic conditions altogether different from those which they will find in America. Their domestic and social customs are the heritage of centuries. The whole psychic atmosphere of their country and the racial instincts of their people are radically different from those which they will find here. Their moral relations and religious life have had a totally different setting and expression in their crudely developed communities. They are called upon at the very threshold of our nation to lay off the old and put on the new. It is this process that creates the immigrant problems. Men's natures are not changed in the twinkling of an eye. Their activities must be the expression of their inner life and thought. The citadel of the foreigner is within and it can be taken only by mental and spiritual forces. The immigrant will make problems for any community, section, or nation unless his mental and spiritual life accords with that of the people among whom he is to live. But he cannot be expected to break with his past and rush blindly into new conditions of life. He must be educated from the old into the new. He must grow out of what he was in his native land into that which he should become in his adopted country. As a willing student he must have an interested

teacher if his progress is rapid and satisfactory. This opens up the secret of the immigrant problem. Wherever the immigrant desires to become a genuine American, and not merely a foreigner living in America, and wherever the American people desire to be the teacher and molders of immigrants for American citizenship there is no immigrant problem, but an immigrant opportunity. He should be given a full chance to know us, the best of us, and the best in us. He usually knows the worst. He should have our best interpreted to him, and especially the supreme right of citizenship. He has a right to demand that we know him and his real needs. Only in this way can the great ethical problem of immigration be solved.

Social and ecclesiastical segregation is responsible for many of the evils resulting from immigration. The foreign Church with a foreign minister and services conducted in a foreign language may be in many instances a necessity, but nevertheless it greatly retards the assimilation of the foreign people and is in large measure responsible for the loss to the Church of the young people altogether. The American Churches are under obligation to provide for the foreigners Churches with such facilities as will render a social and cultural, as well as religious, service. As far as possible the pastor of the American congregation in a community and the missionary pastor of the foreign congregation of the same faith should be collaborators. Missions to foreigners should not be set up and set off religious activities, but rather the coördinate activities of the same ecclesiastical organization. Religion in his native land meant rites, ceremonies, chapels, crosses, shrines, and superstition. Here it must be taught to mean fellowship and service with sobriety, chastity, self-control, and noble virtues.

Illiteracy is a foe to the immigrant and his children. The public school for the children and the night school for the adults should be zealously maintained by the State authorities in all foreign communities. The public school is the greatest assimilating agency which can be employed. It should be conducted in every community entirely in the English language. A law compelling the attendance upon

such a school would be sane and righteous. In schools which are largely attended by the children of immigrants much attention should be given to the history of the United States, to the development of patriotism, and to the teaching of the great principles which lie at the basis of our national life and its society.

The State, the Church, and society are called upon to grip, control, and direct the forces that make the world in which the immigrant lives. He must get a new and correct viewpoint from which to estimate the values of citizenship, social relations, moral issues, and religious activities. He must be empowered for the discharge of his duties as a citizen, as a brother to all men, and as a Christian responsible to Almighty God. His ideals must be reconstructed and new ideals and convictions enthroned in his life and thought. He is not a heathen and pagan; he is not an outlaw and a desperado; he is not a mental delinquent; he is not the dregs of society. His blood may not be blue, but it is red. He may be at the basis of society, but he furnishes a substantial foundation upon which to build a great manhood. He may be an unlettered subject of a foreign despot, but the possibilities of a national leader lie dormant in his being. He may be the servile worshiper at an ecclesiastic mandate; but give him liberty of life, conscience, and religious faith, and a Savonarola or a John Huss may spring forth from his home. The immigrant is no problem where the school, the Church, and the State in the performance of their legitimate and responsible functions insure industrial righteousness, civic liberty, intellectual development, and social and religious culture. The South at the beginning of a possible immigration would exhibit great wisdom should it inspire and empower its civic, educational, humanitarian, and religious institutions for performing those functions which shall grip the forces that create, control, and direct the life and development of all her people.

THE TRAVELERS' AID WORK OF AMERICA

ORIN C. BAKER, GENERAL SECRETARY, NEW YORK TRAVELERS'
AID SOCIETY

HAVE you ever watched the docking of a ship, whether it was river, coast, or transoceanic? Have you stood and watched the passengers alight from the railroad trains, saw them rapidly disperse in every direction, and allowed your mind to wander back to the place from whence they came, the reasons that brought them from their home, what difficulties and dangers they had met with in their course of travel, and what was to be their reception at their destination?

Very recently a young couple was seen coming through the gate from a train—such a very ordinary occurrence that no one would even think of anything unusual; but our agent noticed that the man was well dressed while the girl was rather shabby. His suit case was good; hers was cheap. This caused suspicion that everything might not be right. The agent approached so she might hear something of their conversation. Her suspicions were verified. The man was evidently trying to persuade the girl to go with him, and was telling her that as her brother had failed to come for her he would take her to him in a taxicab. The girl looked very undecided, but insisted upon sitting down in the station and waiting awhile. Our agent took a seat near them and heard his suggestions to give up waiting and go with him to find her brother. Just as she was ready to interfere, the brother arrived and the man hurried away without ceremony. Had the brother failed to come, the girl was being guarded unknown to herself or her dangerous companion.

A neatly-dressed, sweet, open-faced Italian girl was discharged to the Society from the second cabin passengers by the government official. She pathetically said that her hand baggage was the only family she had in this world, her mother having died some time ago. She was going to a friend who had been her school chum in Italy and who was working in Chicago, and would find similar work for her. She gave the name and address of this friend to our agent, who telegraphed her to meet the girl, arranged for her journey, and gave her the addressed post card to notify us of her safe arrival. Some days later the card was returned by the investigator of the Immigrant Protective League with the sorrowful information that she had been taken to a disreputable house, and that he had accidentally found her

there and rescued her. Her friend proved an unsafe protector. Such a circumstance illustrates the need of thorough co-operation to know what kind of places even friends live in.

I am here to speak to you about Travelers' Aid work. It is fitting to give it a place in this Conference because it touches in some measure the welfare of the people in every State, city, and village in the United States, and every country and nation in the world.

One of the first questions always asked is, "What is Travelers' Aid work?" To put it literally and concisely, it is a work that puts a check on error, wrong, extortion, and crime—the crime so largely perpetrated on strangers who are innocent, defenseless, and friendless; it puts a check on the white slave traffic at a point where many victims are secured and where many are handled. It is a preventive work and not a rescue work, though in some cases it necessarily touches rescue work closely. Travelers' Aid reaches the individual before there is need of rescue. Travelers' Aid is not a life or accident insurance company as we are sometimes asked. It is not a commercial enterprise in any sense. Its service is free to all travelers, irrespective of age, race, creed, class, or sex. It does not do porter service at stations or docks. It does not prosecute criminals. It is not connected with hotels, railroads, steamship or transfer companies. It is not a branch of or rival of the railroad or steamship companies' bureaus of information. It provides information, advice, guidance, protection, and aid to all travelers needing assistance beyond the jurisdiction of the railroad offices or steamship officials.

But you say, "Is there a real need for such a work?" The need is told in three words, "*There Is Danger!*" The specter called "commercialized vice" is abroad in many forms throughout the world and hovers over our cities, especially to prey upon the unprotected public. In every city to-day there are thousands of the brightest wits thinking of ways to fleece the public to-morrow.

Social conditions and the activity of avarice and crime are such that in the great rush of travel many persons are taken advantage of by the agents of commercialized vice

of every form. Agents of disorderly houses travel on trains and boats alert to secure victims. Every year thousands of young women come to the great cities looking for a chance of honorable livelihood. Where do they come from? The rural districts, the towns and villages, from other cities, and from abroad. Many fall easy prey to the unscrupulous persons always lying in wait for travelers, who use every means to take advantage of the unwary, the unfriended, the ignorant, the timid, the sick, the stranger, and the foreigner, especially those not speaking our language.

In 1912 eleven hundred and forty immigrants complained to the New York State Bureau of Industries and Immigration that they had been swindled and otherwise victimized.

The infamous business of exploiting helplessness is so lucrative that, as one paper says, "Municipalities with their scattered powers can do nothing to stop a business that is organized and working in many parts of the union."

The same editor goes on to say that the above figure is but a *small proportion* of the crimes committed by the "harpies of the harbor" as is attested by 1,821 additional cases started independently by the Bureau, which is itself crippled by lack of jurisdiction and of funds.

Add to these figures the fact that 966 women and girls were lost between New York and Chicago alone in the same year 1912.

In 1910 and 1911 the number lost between these two cities alone was 1,700 and 1,206, respectively.

It is said by the best authority that no girl of any class is safe in America; that an appalling number of wives and women of standing, college girls on journeys, young girls on their way to boarding schools, working girls, and foreigners are trapped and sold. Heartrending letters from parents asking for help in finding their lost daughters are continually received by rescue workers and police authorities. The easiest place to trap them is in the course of travel when they are strangers in a strange place.

A telephone message was received at headquarters saying that a young girl had gotten into serious difficulty and had been found

wandering about on West Street in a stupefied condition, without money, baggage checks, or ticket. Investigation proved that she had come to be married, and was going to her fiancé in the West. A first-class passenger, a steamer acquaintance, was described by the girl as responsible for her terrible experience. The girl absolutely refused to wait in New York. She went West and was never heard from nor could she be found. Would it not have been better if the young woman had applied to the Travelers' Aid, always accessible for advice and guidance? There would have been no thrilling story—just a girl saved.

Travelers' Aid work is largely done very near the border line of tragedy. If the tragedy takes place, then Travelers' Aid work has failed in its mission. It is the nearness to and yet not into tragedy which makes the work often misunderstood. The question is often asked: "Does Travelers' Aid really save girls out of the clutches of those who prey upon them?" Yes, very often; but its true mission is to prevent their getting into the clutches of those who desire to prey upon them. Active evil, preying upon those coming to and through the cities in the course of travel, *is a fact*; and only as the entire public is enlightened to the subtlety of its iniquitous practices will they be on their guard. The fact that Travelers' Aid is combating an active and aggressive evil has not been generally understood.

The unscrupulous do not passively wait for their victims. They hunt them—hunt them with cunning and deliberate devices. Certain uninitiated persons feel that the claims that women need protection and aid in the course of travel are extravagant, and fail to realize that Travelers' Aid has a sphere beyond telling some timid women what train to take or comforting some weary traveler. Travelers' Aid does do, and must of course do, this work; but the most important work, the real work, is to keep them from getting into danger.

Again you ask, "How is it that people trust themselves to strangers and get into these dangers?" A gentleman said: "Why! my sister traveled around the world and had no difficulty at all." That may be true. Among the multitudes of travelers all do not need assistance or we would be hopelessly swamped; but we know that 18,562 were definite-

ly assisted by the New York Travelers' Aid Society alone last year, and that of this number 6,808 stood in more or less moral danger and 10,084 in financial.

There are many reasons why people get into dangerous difficulties when traveling: unexpected emergencies arise; they lose their tickets; their money runs short; they are defrauded or overcharged; they have wrong addresses or none at all; they miss connections and must remain over in the city; expenses have been more than they expected; their expected friends and relatives fail to meet them; they have difficulty with baggage or tickets; they are ignorant of our language; the hour may be late and the many changes necessary may prompt them to ask advice and guidance from chance passers-by and acquaintances of the journey. They are hungry and tired, and, having insufficient funds to go to a better class hotel, know of no reputable safe lodging house. Very often they make dangerous acquaintances on the journey. All these emergencies make easy openings for the unscrupulous. Travelers' Aid safeguards these inexperienced or confused travelers, meeting them at train or boat to provide information, advice, guidance, protection, and aid to all who may be *in need* of assistance.

It is sometimes said that the American girl can take care of herself anywhere, but the fact is that many intelligent English-speaking people are often pathetically confused and helpless when traveling alone and trust themselves to the guidance of strangers with a simple confidence that everybody is good and honest. The world is busy, and many a girl goes down not because of any premeditated wrong on her part but because it is nobody's business to protect her.

A woman with a note of introduction given several years previous was in the habit of calling for girls on landing and taking them to her boarding house. This note the agent of the Travelers' Aid secured after learning of the very questionable character and reputation of the place so that this woman will no more be enabled to come with a splendid recommendation given by an organization without investigation. While some protect, others work harder to betray and lure away the unsuspecting, armed even with apparently good credentials.

THE METHOD OF WORK

The work is done by trained women agents who speak the different languages and who meet trains and steamers to aid inexperienced, confused, unfriended, or otherwise needy travelers at any hour of the day or night. They are known by the official badge. Travelers' Aid *never* closes. Day and night, Sundays and other holidays there is a force on duty to meet the need. While the most important work is for young women and girls, still men, women, and children of every age and nationality are helped solely on the ground of their necessity.

A careful system of "follow up" work is conducted by giving persons helped and sent farther on an addressed post card with the request to mail it on reaching their destination, with particulars as to how they got along. Telegrams are sent to Travelers' Aid Societies at other terminal points, continuing the protection by coöperation until the traveler is *known* to have reached the proper destination in perfect safety.

There are thirty-two State and national organizations in the United States doing some part of Travelers' Aid work. First comes the Y. W. C. A., then Independent Travelers' Aid Societies, then King's Daughters and Sons Circles, Catholic and Jewish Societies, etc. There are 145 paid Travelers' Aid workers in 72 cities. In twelve of these cities workers have police power. There are 320 cities where travelers can be met and assisted. In 1912 a very careful estimate makes the number assisted 350,000, and in 1911, 157,000. There is some kind of Travelers' Aid work done in forty-two different States. Canada is alive to the situation and is bringing about a splendid protective movement. In Europe the work is older and more extensively organized than in the United States. In New York City we have nineteen agents, speaking twenty-one languages, meeting trains and ships. In 1912 we assisted 18,562 definitely of whom we have a complete record, and 6,755 incidentally. This is an increase of 51 per cent over 1911, and 153 per cent over 1910. In other cities the increase in work and efficiency has been as marked.

The work is many-sided and the details diverse and complicated. The work naturally divides itself into four divisions:

1. It deals with the reasons why a person leaves home—the false letters, advertisements, offered positions, dangerous addresses, etc.

2. It protects them in all the vicissitudes and complications of travel until they arrive at their destination.

3. It assists to their own home, a respectable boarding house, or a responsible institution when necessary.

4. It continues the protection by visitation as far as the necessity of the case demands, and brings them in touch with some responsible organization which will continue the work to make the person a vital part of the community, working throughout without regard to age, race, creed, class, or sex.

Investigation of positions is made on request so that dangerous advertisements for help and other proposals may not lure people from home before they know what the position is. One of the most important needs is up-to-date lists of respectable and reasonable-priced boarding houses in every city. This requires constant investigation and revision, for many are here to-day and gone to-morrow. They often change hands and policy as well. There is great danger to travelers in some boarding houses.

The scope and ultimate aim of the work is evident—the field is the world. Travelers' Aid in its very nature must be national and international. Nothing short of a world work is adequate. The world is traveling to and from the ends of the earth. Social conditions are keeping pace with the age in the activity of vice. That is why this great Conference is held—to make good abound where evil is abounding.

There are three key words to the success of the work: Publicity, Coöperation, and Efficiency.

Publicity is needed to inform the public that danger exists and the way of escape. The National Vigilance Committee reported that much of the white slave traffic is carried on by persons offering to assist women in the course of travel. They deal kindly and gently with them on the

voyage and by the time of arrival the young woman is an easy victim. Public interest must be awakened to a need of Travelers' Aid work and aroused to a sense of responsibility for the safeguarding of young people.

Coöperation.—The magnitude of the work has made plain the necessity of closer coöperation between all local organizations doing any part of Travelers' Aid work.

During the past year the New York Society has co-operated with one hundred and fifty-two homes and organizations in New York City, and with most of the forty-four foreign consuls in the city.

Our coöperation with other societies has been largely extended. We are now in touch with all organizations in the United States, Canada, and abroad doing Travelers' Aid work. In the United States we have interested the Gideons and Granges, and enlarged our coöperation with the King's Daughters and Sons, Young Women's Christian Associations, Young Men's Christian Associations, Catholic and Jewish Societies, etc.

We quote the following from an open letter recently sent out by the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association:

The opening of the Panama Canal will not only bring about an enormous increase of travel, but will deflect from ordinary routes much of the travel between the East and the West. It is so obviously necessary as to be imperative that a workable and united plan of Travelers' Aid should be in operation throughout the country before the opening of the Panama Exposition in San Francisco in 1915. If a plan can be adopted early by a number of cities which are ready and willing to unite in a national Travelers' Aid work, it is reasonable to hope that a National Travelers' Aid Society can be organized and ready to do its part in the greatest world movement for protection that has ever yet been put into operation.

Efficiency.—Travelers' Aid work to be effective must touch every city, town, and rural community in the United States and abroad. If we protect them in New York only to have them fall victims as they travel on through terminal points in crossing other cities or at their destination, the evil is only deferred. There must be widespread and universal coöperation. Hitherto this has been possible mainly

THE PRESENT SITUATION

JAMES H. DILLARD, M.A., LL.D.

AT the first meeting of the Southern Sociological Congress, held last year in Nashville, there were two conferences on race problems. These conferences were well attended and proved most interesting. There were present a number of representative men of both races, and it was found that there was not time to hear all who wished to speak on the subject. During the session of this first Congress a committee was appointed on Race Relationships consisting of the following: A. J. Barton, Waco, Tex.; Miss Belle H. Bennett, Richmond, Ky.; C. E. Branson, Athens, Ga.; William H. Fleming, Augusta; H. B. Frissell, Hampton, Va.; J. D. Hammond, Augusta; G. W. Hubbard, Nashville; G. H. Huckaby, Shreveport; W. R. Lambuth, Nashville; John Little, Louisville; J. D. Snedecor, Tuscaloosa; A. H. Stone, Dunleith, Miss.; W. P. Thirkield, New Orleans; C. B. Wilmer, Atlanta; W. D. Weatherford, Nashville, Secretary; and James H. Dillard, New Orleans, Chairman. Of this committee, ten are present at this second Congress.

There was also formed at the first Congress what is known as the University Commission on Race Questions. This Commission consists of representatives from ten Southern State Universities as follows: Alabama, J. J. Doster; Arkansas, C. H. Brough, Chairman; Florida, J. M. Farr; Georgia, R. J. H. DeLoach; Louisiana, W. D. Scroggs; Mississippi, W. D. Hedleston; North Carolina, C. W. Bain; South Carolina, Josiah Morse; Tennessee, J. D. Hoskins; Texas, W. S. Sutton; Virginia, W. M. Hunley, Secretary. Five of these gentlemen are on the present program.

Our present program contains the names of nineteen who are to read papers or make addresses, and of the nineteen appointees five are colored. Seventeen of the nineteen are present. The addresses will be followed by discussions which I hope will be freely participated in, so far as time will permit, by members and delegates of both races.

people. We see that every consideration of justice and righteousness demands our good will, our helpful guidance wherever it can be given, and our coöperation.

Let us hope that the deliberations and discussions of these conferences will tend to promote this spirit of good will and coöperation. Let us hope that by coming together we may learn better how to set ourselves to work to improve conditions. Let us speak out with plainness and honest conviction, and at the same time with good feeling and sympathy.

HOW TO ENLIST THE WELFARE AGENCIES OF THE SOUTH FOR IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS AMONG THE NEGROES

W. D. WEATHERFORD, PH.D., NASHVILLE, TENN.

I WISH to make clear in the very beginning that the same type of agency which can improve the conditions for the white people can also improve the conditions of life for the negro. Humanity is humanity whether the color be black or white, and I know no fiat of God that makes white any more valuable as a color or any easier to deal with than black. Every social agency which is working for the uplift of the white race should also be working for the uplift of the colored race, unless there is a special branch of that organization working for the negroes. Let us take for granted in this paper that we believe the negro needs help in practically every way that the white man needs help. Here it simply falls to my lot to enumerate some of the agencies which are working for the uplift among white people, and to show how they can be used to uplift the negro.

First, we would mention the Church as the greatest of all social and welfare agencies. We do not now speak of the Church as a dispenser of charity or the builder of orphanages and asylums. We speak of the Church as a social

agent in a much truer and deeper sense than any of these. The great social mission of the Church is the bringing in of a new appreciation of the sacredness and value of the individual man. This means brotherhood. It means equal safety of life. It means an equal chance to make a living and build a life. Now the equal opportunity can only come when every man is recognized as a real man, as a person. The Church, and the Church alone, can bring about any such estimate of humanity. No amount of legislation can ever make us value the individual; it can only prevent or deter us from harming that individual. Law can never change our essential attitude toward humanity. To this problem the Church holds the key. Its message of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man puts new meaning into every life and guarantees a new safety and security.

Now it is high time that the white Churches were awakening to the responsibility of extending this sense of sacredness to all men; to the ignorant as well as to the learned, to the wicked as well as to the righteous, to the black as well as to the white.

In a paper last year before this Congress I called attention to the fact that this very attitude of man to man is the Gibraltar on which the Southern Church and State may wreck themselves. I wish to repeat here that we cannot hope to have any real respect for law, we cannot build up any civilized community so long as personality is not held sacred. So long as we grind up our children in the mills, so long as we stifle our poor ones in the damp cellars and cheap tenement houses, so long as we allow negroes to be lynched—just so long will we fail to have any genuine appreciation of the sacredness and value of the person. We cannot despise some persons and value others, for personality is personality, whether it is poor or rich, whether black or white; and we despise any portion of humanity at the risk of losing our sense of the sacredness of all men, and hence breaking down our laws, destroying our civilization, giving the lie to our Christian ethics, and damning our own souls.

a skillful hand, and a consecrated heart, all combined in the person of a negro teacher whom we pay the handsome stipend of twenty-two dollars and forty-eight cents per month, or the princely fortune of eighty dollars, ninety-two cents, and eight mills for the whole school term,* as is the case in one State?

4. We must have better school supervision. If the white teacher in a city, with good training, splendid equipment, the stimulus of fellow teachers, needs the careful supervision of a city superintendent, how much more does the poorly trained negro teacher, working alone in the country, with no equipment, little encouragement, no inspiration from fellow teachers—how very much more does she need careful supervision, inspiration, and direction? I cannot tell you what a wonderful transformation is being wrought in those countries where Dr. Dillard through his Jeanes Foundation is able to place a county supervising teacher, who heartens these isolated teachers, giving them training and supervision. This Congress ought to send out a stirring call to the philanthropists of this country to put into the hands of Dr. Dillard and his Board enough money to place such a supervising teacher in every county in the South. At this same time we should make a plea for better supervision on the part of county superintendents. Much has been done, but much more remains to be done.

One can think of no greater and more far-reaching influence than that of a socialized school—a school into which the conception of the value of humanity has found its way; a school where the course of study fits its pupils to take their place in the life of the community; a school where health and housing, morals and manners, efficiency and service are given full presentation. The negro school must be made an effective agent for uplifting the race. We must set forth some standards for it, we must have some convictions about it, we must write some policies for it, and we must put our shoulders to the wheel and swear by all that is holy that these things shall come to pass.

*"Negro Life in the South," p. 98.

Another welfare agency in the South, though it would probably not be mentioned by our professional social workers, is that of the United States Farm Demonstration work. This work goes into the country, and through the personal visits of the trained agent attempts to teach the farmer how to raise more corn, cotton, or tobacco, how to keep his land up, how to utilize his place for stock-raising—in fact, how to make a comfortable and respectable living where he before was simply eking out an existence. Hundreds of farmers are now enjoying splendid crops and good homes who were formerly on the edge of bankruptcy and homelessness. The great need is that this work shall be extended to the negro as well as to the white man. There are a few Negro Farm Demonstration Agents, and some of the white agents have a few negroes working under their direction, but the great mass of negro farmers are not touched. With 890,000 negro farmers in the South, controlling either as owners or tenants forty million acres of improved lands, it is high time we should wake up to the enormous economic problem involved in the proper training of these men.

These three forces which we have mentioned are usually left out of an enumeration of the social and welfare agencies, but they are the heart of the problem in this solution of the race question. Let us now pass to some of the regular agencies for social and civic betterment.

The city charity organizations have sprung up like mushrooms all over North America, and we are now beginning to have our full share in the South.

The city of Boston boasted 1,424 such organizations in 1907, devoted to every conceivable kind of relief. We were told by a social worker in Atlanta recently that there were one hundred specialized social workers representing almost an equal number of betterment organizations in this city. The great difficulty with this great mass of relief and betterment work lies in its lack of system, coördination, and coöperation. There is an endless amount of overlapping and duplication, together with an enormous amount of oversight of problems which need attention. It is in this field of omission and oversight that the negro often finds him-

self. In the South, to say the least of it, the negro probably has a good chance of securing relief from physical suffering by way of cold and hunger, as has the poor white. But the difficulty lies in the realm of corrective service. Practically nothing is now being done in any systematic fashion to prevent negroes from coming into positions of dependence. There is need for a definite negro department in every city charity organization, which will carefully study the problem and lay constructive policies to meet the need.

In this connection it is vitally important that the negro himself be induced to become an integral part of the charity organization in order that he may assume some responsibility for the help of his own people. Such a negro charity society was organized recently in Columbia, S. C., and found a most hearty response among the negroes of that city. This negro department of the city charities would make a careful study of the sanitary conditions of those sections of the city occupied largely by negroes, and by giving publicity to such facts would coöperate with the white organization in bringing about needed reform. It would also study the housing problem. This can be done by negroes with much more facility and ease than it can ever be done by white people. They would enlist the coöperation of negro physicians in studying the health conditions of the negro population. All this work by negroes would help to train them in the largest conceptions of race pride and race betterment. What we are pleading for here is that the city charity organizations in our Southern cities shall cease to work *for* negroes and begin to work *with* negroes. We are asking that we take them into our plans in working on this big betterment scheme for the whole community. We are asking that we treat them as responsible members of the community, and not as dependent wards. We are suggesting that we serve them by helping them to help themselves. We are pleading that we not only care for and uplift the weak, the dependent, the poverty-stricken, but that we strengthen the whole race by uniting its leaders in a constructive service for their own people. This seems to me to be the only statesmanlike way to work out this problem.

I wish to mention only one more form of welfare work, though many more might be mentioned. One of the very greatest needs of the negro race in America is a chance for recreation among adults and play life among children. Those who know the negro best know very well that there is little chance for either play or recreation, whether the negroes live in the city or in the country. One hardly needs call attention in this company to the part which play must contribute to the building of character. The Boys' Work Commission of the Men and Religion Movement, in its printed report, speaks of the necessity of play life in the following terms: "As preparation for making a religious response to the world, something should also be said of play, because of its value in developing spontaneity, coöperation, abandon, imagination, rhythm, loyalty, self-sacrifice, and prompt obedience to the order of the will. In general, the hearty extension of interest to its farthest limit, and the disposition to revel in life's high and eternal possibilities, will depend upon the early cultivation through play, directed and undirected, alone and in groups, of those very movements of the soul which later constitute religious faith and worship."

Play life is the very foundation of character development, and the child that cannot play, or must play in filthy and unwholesome surroundings, will surely not grow into the fullest strength of character. This is precisely the conditions that surround the play life or lack of play life of negro children. One wonders if we are aware that there are no playgrounds for negro children. Most of the parks are not open to them, most of the ball fields are closed against them, most of the vacant lots are forbidden ground to groups of negro children, and even the negro school grounds are so restricted in most cases that coöperative games are next to impossible. How can we expect these negro children to grow into strong characters, able to coöperate with their fellow men in the game of life, if the games of childhood are forbidden them?

It is time the playground movement was getting some real impetus in the South. Rev. John Little has opened two

little play spots—not playgrounds; they aren't that big—in Louisville, and the negro children are so thick there that every hour these places are open you cannot get a picture of the grounds because of the children. There is not a city in the South where we might not have good playgrounds for the negro children at a very low cost and a very high rate of profit to the whole community.

But not alone does the negro child need play; the adult needs recreation under decent conditions. About a year ago I made a hurried examination of the amusements for negroes in twenty-seven Southern cities. The facts were gathered by both white and colored students and professors in these various cities, so that I had a check against the optimism of white investigators and the pessimism of the colored. But such a check was scarcely needed. Few of either class found anything like adequate facilities for recreation and amusement. The only amusement place that one of these cities could report was a dance hall, six pool rooms, and twenty-six eating houses; negroes admitted to the peanut gallery of the theaters. Another reports one air dome (low resort), one moving picture show with vaudeville attachment; "negroes admitted to peanut gallery in white theaters; but better class say they will not go unless for some special attraction, as they are put with the lowest class of whites." This report is made by a trained sociologist, a Southern white person living in a city of fifty thousand. Another city of forty thousand inhabitants, at least half of whom are colored, reports not a single moving picture show, not a theater, not a public playground, no public baths, no public gymnasiums, and only four school yards where people can gather for recreation or amusement. Another investigator reports: "Picture shows with vaudeville attachment are rotten, attended by the lowest types of all colors." Still another city reports: "There have been several picture shows exclusively for negroes. They have been on the vilest streets and have been attended largely by the worst element of negroes; and from all I can learn, the pictures have not been of the cleanest sort, to say the least."

If the social workers of America are right in claiming that the hours for play for children and the hours of recreation and amusement for adults are the hours of greatest danger to the character as well as the hours of greatest possibility, surely we in the South are taking a tremendous risk in allowing nine millions of our citizens to spend these hours under conditions which are all too frequently vile and unwholesome. It would be in accord with the best principles of economics and sociology, it would be high philanthropy and high statesmanship to see to it that those who live by our sides have a chance to build character during the leisure hours. To their work for white children and better amusement conditions for the white adults, every Playground Association and Park Commission in the South has an obligation to make some provision for the negro people. If it comes to a question of expense, I for one would rather be taxed to support playgrounds instead of penitentiaries. I would rather support parks than city jails, I would rather support playground supervisors than chain gang wardens. Incidentally there would be less taxes to pay, greater safety of life and property, and a growing company of colored children who had a chance to become good citizens and an economic asset in the upbuilding of our Southland.

We have thus mentioned five social betterment forces in the South which must be harnessed to the problem of negro uplift. The list is of course suggestive, and not exhaustive. We have only meant to indicate the way in which we can use forces now in existence to further the cause of negro betterment. In other words, this is simply a plea that in all our social welfare movements in the South we must remember that we are not working for 20,547,420 whites, but for twenty million whites plus 8,749,427 negroes. We must not forget that we have a population of 29,296,847 and that we have no right to omit a single one of these when we are laying our plans for social betterment.

In conclusion, I would like to say one more thing. The South is a solid South in more than a political sense. We are a solid South in a social sense. I mean whatever affects

the social welfare of one man affects the social welfare of every other man in the section. We are bound together by the fact of proximity, we are bound together by economic relations, we are bound together by the traditions of the past, we are bound together by all the forces of present life which demand the guarding of our health, our ideals, and our civilization. We are not eight million negroes and twenty million whites; we are twenty-nine million human beings, and whatever affects one of our company must of necessity affect all the other 28,999,999. The sin of the immoral will destroy the safety of the moral, the disease of the weakest will destroy the health of the strongest, the prejudice of the most ignorant will warp the judgment of the most learned, the lawlessness of the most criminal will blacken the fair name and drag into criminal action the law-abiding instincts of the highest citizens. We must stand or fall together. Thank God this is true! This insures that the learned shall not despise the ignorant, that the physically sound shall not despise the physically weak, the rich man cannot scorn the poverty-stricken, the righteous cannot become self-righteous in their contempt for the morally weak. Every welfare movement for whites must become a welfare movement for negroes as well. This interest in the whole will keep us from dying with the dry rot of complacency. God has put upon the religious, educational, and social workers of both races of the South a tremendous load of responsibility; but by his help we will carry it like men, and be all the stronger because of our manly exertion.

WORK OF THE COMMISSION OF SOUTHERN UNIVERSITIES ON THE RACE QUESTION

PROFESSOR C. H. BROUGH, PH.D., UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

THE South is to be congratulated on the fact that she has educational statesmen with far-sighted and philanthropic vision, of the type of Dr. J. H. Dillard, of New Orleans, who has consecrated his ripe experience and able executive leadership to the social, economic, educational, religious, and civic improvement of the negro race. Such a leader, who is the inspiration and originator of the Commission of Professors from representative Southern Universities, is worth infinitely more to our nation and to our Southland than a thousand ranting demagogues.

With such an inspiring force as Dr. Dillard, I feel that our commission could do no better than follow the splendid constructive outline which he has mapped out for our work; therefore, as Chairman of the Commission, I invite suggestions along the following lines:

- I. What are the conditions?
 1. Religious. Contributions, excessive denominationalism, lack of the practical in preaching, etc.
 2. Educational. Self-help, Northern contributions, public schools, etc.
 3. Hygienic. The whole question of health and disease.
 4. Economic. Land ownership, business enterprises, abuse of credit system, etc.
 5. Civic. Common carriers, courts of justice, franchise, etc. Changes and tendencies in the above conditions. Attitude of the whites.
- II. What should and can be done, especially by whites, for improvement?
- III. What may be hoped as to future conditions and relations?

With reference to the religious contributions to the betterment of the negro, it may be said that our Churches have been pursuing a "penny wise and pound foolish economy." The Presbyterians last year gave an average of three postage stamps per member to the work. The Methodists averaged less than the price of a cheap soda water—just a

five-cent one. The Southern Baptist Convention has only been asking from its large membership \$15,000 annually for this tremendous work. In view of these conditions, as Southern Churchmen we may well echo the passionately eloquent outburst of Dr. W. D. Weatherford, one of the most profound thinkers and virile writers on the negro question and the leader of the young men of the South in their Y. M. C. A. work: "Do we mean to say by our niggardly gifts that these people are helpless and worthless in the sight of God? Do we mean to say that one cent per member is doing our share in evangelizing the whole race? God pity the Southern Christians, the Southern Churches, and the Southern States, if we do not awake to our responsibility in this hour of opportunity."

But the responsibility for deplorable religious conditions among the negroes is not altogether with the whites. While it is true that the negro is by nature a religious and emotional animal, while there are approximately 4,500,000 Church members among the 10,000,000 negroes in the United States, and these Churches represent property values of nearly \$40,000,000, yet it is also painfully true that excessive denominationalism and ecclesiastical rivalry and dissensions prevent the formation of strong, compact organizations among them and, as a result, there are twice as many Church organizations as there should be, congregations are small, and the salaries paid their preachers are not large enough to secure competent men.

In connection with the character of the average negro preacher, it is interesting to note that in an investigation made by Atlanta University concerning the character of the negro ministry, of two hundred negro laymen who were asked their opinion of the moral character of negro preachers, only thirty-seven gave decided answers of approval. Among faults mentioned by these negro laymen were selfishness, deceptiveness, love of money, sexual impurity, dogmatism, laziness, and ignorance, and to these may be added the fact that preaching is generally of a highly emotional type and is wholly lacking in any practical moral message. At this meeting of the Southern Sociological Congress, I trust that some one will discuss the necessity of

holding up before the negroes the conception of the Perfect Man of Galilee, of unblemished character and spotless purity, who went about doing good, as well as the conception of a Saviour of power and a Christ of divinity.

Educationally the negroes of the South have made remarkable progress. In 1880, of the negro population above ten years of age, 70 per cent was illiterate. By the end of the next decade this illiteracy had been reduced to 57.1 per cent, and by the close of the century it had declined to 44.5 per cent. During the last ten years of the nineteenth century there was an increase of the negro population of 1,087,000 in the school age of ten years and over; yet, despite this increase, there was a decrease in illiteracy of 190,000. In 1912 there were over 2,000,000 between the ages of five and eighteen, or 54 per cent of the total number of educable negro children, enrolled in the common schools of the former slave States, and the percentage of illiteracy among the negroes is only 27.5 per cent.

In the State of Arkansas for the year ending June 30, 1912, 109,731 negro children were enrolled in the common schools out of a total educable negro population of 175,503, and the percentage of illiteracy among the negroes was only 26.2 per cent. Besides the Branch Normal at Pine Bluff, maintained by the State at an annual expense of \$15,000, an institution which has graduated 236 negro men and women in the thirty-eight years of its useful history, and six splendid negro high schools at Fort Smith, Helena, Hot Springs, Little Rock, and Pine Bluff, there are six denominational high schools and colleges in Arkansas that are giving the negroes an academic education and practical instruction in manual training, domestic science, practical carpentry, and scientific agriculture. These facts tell the story of praiseworthy sacrifice, frugality, struggle, and aspiration.

The amount devoted to negro education in the South for the forty years ending with the academic session 1910-11 is approximately \$166,000,000. Of this amount, the negro is beginning to pay a fair proportion, especially in North Carolina and Virginia. But the Southern white people have borne the brunt of the burden, meriting the stately eulogy

of the late lamented Commissioner of Education, William T. Harris, that "the Southern white people in the organization and management of systems of public schools manifest wonderful and remarkable self-sacrifice," and also the tribute of Dr. Lyman Abbott, editor of the *Outlook*, "While Northern benevolence has spent tens of thousands in the South to educate the negroes, Southern patriotism has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars for the same purpose. This has been done voluntarily and without aid from the Federal Government."

The South as a whole has appreciated the truth of the six axioms in the program of negro education so admirably set forth by Dr. W. S. Sutton, of the University of Texas, in a recent bulletin, and she boldly affirms that the highest welfare of the "black child of Providence" committed to her keeping lies not in social or even political equality, but in equality of industrial opportunity and educational enlightenment. Therefore, if the dangerous and insidious movement for the segregation of the school funds between the races in proportion to the amount paid in as taxes is to be checked, the negro must awake more keenly to the necessity of self-help, realizing that—

"Self-ease is pain. Thy only rest
Is labor for a worthy end,
A toll that gives with what it yields,
And hears, while sowing outward fields,
The harvest song of inward peace."

Closely allied to the proper solution of the problem of negro education are the practical questions of better hygienic conditions and housing, the reduction of the fearful mortality rate now devastating the race, and the prevention of disease.

At the present the death rate of the negroes is 28 per one thousand, as opposed to 15 per one thousand for the whites. The chief causes of this excessive death rate among the negroes seem to be infant mortality, scrofula, venereal troubles, consumption, and intestinal diseases. According to Hoffman, over 50 per cent of the negro children born in Richmond, Va., die before they are one year old. This is due primarily to sexual immorality, enfeebled con-

stitutions of parents, and infant starvation, all of which can be reduced by teaching the negroes the elementary laws of health.

The highest medical authorities agree that the negro has a predisposition to consumption, due to his small chest expansion and the insignificant weight of his lungs, and this theory seems to be borne out by the fact that the excess of negro deaths over whites from consumption is 105 per cent in the representative Southern cities. But however strong the influence of heredity, it is undeniable that consumption, the hookworm, and fevers of all kinds are caused in a large measure by the miserable housing conditions prevalent among the negroes. Poor housing, back alleys, no ventilation, poor ventilation, and no sunshine do much to foster diseases of all kinds.

Furthermore, people cannot be moral as long as they are herded together like cattle without privacy or decency. If a mother, a father, three grown daughters, and men boarders have to sleep in two small rooms, as is frequently the case, we must expect lack of modesty, promiscuity, illegitimacy, and sexual diseases. It is plainly our duty to preach the gospel of hygienic evangelism to our unfortunate "neighbors in black," for the Ciceronian maxim, "*Mens sana in corpore sano*," is fundamental in education. Certainly he who is instrumental in causing the negro to build two- and three-room houses where only a one-room shack stood before and to construct one sleeping porch where none was before deserves more at the hands of his fellow man than the whole race of demagogues put together.

Economic progress has been the handmaid of educational enlightenment in the improvement of the negro. Indeed, to the negro the South owes a debt of real gratitude for her rapid agricultural growth, and in no less degree does every true son of the South owe the negro a debt of gratitude for his unselfishness, his faithfulness, and his devotion to the white people of Dixieland, not only during the dark and bloody days of the Civil War, but during the trying days of our industrial and political renaissance.

To the negro, either as an independent owner, tenant, or laborer, we partly owe the increase in the number of our

farms from 504,000 in 1860 to over 2,000,000 at the present time; the increase in our farm values from \$2,048,000 in 1860 to \$4,500,000 at the present time; the decrease in the size of our farm unit from 321 acres in 1860 to 84 acres at the present time.

However, there are four well-defined retarding forces to the fullest economic development of the negro in the South, and to these evils this Commission should give thoughtful and earnest consideration: the tenant system, the one-crop system, the abuse of the credit system, and rural isolation. I believe that industrial education, teaching the negro the lessons of the nobility of toil, the value of thrift and honesty, the advantages attaching to the division of labor and the diversification of industry and the dangers lurking in the seductive credit system, will prove an effective panacea for these self-evident evils.

As an American citizen the negro is entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and the equal protection of our laws for the safeguarding of these inalienable rights. The regulation of suffrage in the South, as well as in the North, is and always will be determined by the principle of expediency. But none but the most prejudiced negro-hater, who oftentimes goes to the extreme of denying that any black man can have a white soul, would controvert the proposition that in the administration of quasi-public utilities and courts of justice the negro is entitled to the fair and equal protection of the law. Separate coach laws are wise, but discriminations in service are wrong.

If "law hath her seat in the bosom of God and her voice in the harmony of the world, all things paying obeisance to her, the greatest as not exempt from her power and the least as feeling her protecting care," if

"Sovereign law, the State's collected will,
Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill,"

then the meanest negro on a Southern plantation is entitled to the same consideration in the administration of justice as the proudest scion of a cultured Cavalier.

It is, indeed, a travesty on Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence to send a negro to the penitentiary for a term of eighteen

years for selling a gallon of whisky in violation of law and at the same time allow scores of white murderers to go unpunished, as was recently stated to be a fact by the Governor of a Southern State. Even if it be only theoretically true that "all people are created free and equal," it is undeniably true that he is entitled to the equal protection of our laws and to the rights safeguarded every American citizen under the beneficent provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

If I may use the eloquent words of the golden-tongued and clear-visioned Bishop Charles B. Galloway, "The race problem is no question for small politicians, but for broad-minded, patriotic statesmen. It is not for non-resident theorists, but for clear-visioned humanitarians. All our dealings with the negro should be in the spirit of the Man of Galilee."

The task that is now confronting this Commission on the Race Question, which is composed of Southern white men who are representing the Universities of the South, is Atlean in its magnitude and fraught with tremendous significance. I believe that ours is a noble mission, that of discussing the ways and means of bettering the religious, educational, hygienic, economic, and civic condition of an inferior race. I believe that by preaching the gospel of industrial education to the whites and negroes alike we can develop a stronger consciousness of social responsibility. I believe that by the recognition of the fact that in the negro are to be found the essential elements of human nature, capable of conscious evolution through education and economic and religious betterment, we will be led at last to a conception of a world unity, whose Author and Finisher is God.

Let us, then, have a just conception of the dignity of our mission, and in dreaming of our ideals for the improvement of a wonderful race let each of us resolve in his heart of hearts with the sailor-poet:

"I am tired of sailing my little bark
Far inside the harbor bar;
I want to be out where the great ships float,
I want to be out where the great ones are.

And I am not content to abide
Where only the ripples come and go;
I must mount the crest of the waves outside,
Or breathless plunge into the trough below.

And if my little bark should prove too frail
For the winds that sweep the wide sea o'er,
Better go down in the deathless strife
Than drowse to death by the sheltered shore."

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE NEGRO

PROFESSOR WILLIAM M. HUNLEY, PH.D., UNIVERSITY OF
VIRGINIA

I SHALL not attempt a comprehensive discussion of the economic status of the negro. That were impossible of accomplishment in the brief time allotted me. Nor shall I weary you with more statistics than absolutely necessary, chiefly because I fear there may be many present who agree with O. Henry that "statistics is the lowest form of information."

My purpose is simply to sketch in outline, from the economic point of view, the condition of the negro as we find him to-day and to suggest, if possible, the line along which we should think and work in our efforts to improve that condition.

The economic point of view is the distinctive Southern attitude in the matter of improvement of race conditions. We aim to elevate the negro economically in the belief that, by this means, he will become a better citizen. In other parts of the country the aim seems to be just the opposite—viz., to give the negro certain social and political advantages which he now lacks in the belief that, possessing those advantages, he will attain a higher level of efficiency and will become, therefore, a better citizen. Thus we all strive to reach the same end, but by different routes. The industrial route seems to me to be the better.

The present economic status of the negro shows marvelous advancement and holds great promise. A little pamphlet, "Fifty Years of Negro Progress," by Monroe N. Work, came to my desk as I was preparing this paper. The part referring to certain economic phases of the question is so much better than anything I had set down that I tore up several pages of notes and decided to take the liberty of quoting from this pamphlet a few paragraphs:

"In 1803 there were 3,960,000 slaves in the South. Their value was approximately \$2,000,000,000, or about \$500 each. At the present time about this same number of negroes in the South are engaged in various gainful occupations. Their economic value is approximately \$2,500 each, and their total value as an asset of the South is ten billion dollars.

"Fifty years ago, with the exception of a few carpenters, blacksmiths, and masons, practically all the negroes in the South were agricultural workers. Freedom gave them an opportunity to engage in all sorts of occupations. The census reports show that there are now very few, if any, pursuits followed by whites in which there are not some negroes. There are over 50,000 in the professions—teachers, preachers, laymen, doctors, dentists, editors, etc. There are some 30,000 engaged in business of various sorts. Fifty years ago there were in the South no negro architects, electricians, photographers, druggists, pharmacists, dentists, physicians, or surgeons; no negro owners of mines, cotton mills, dry goods stores, insurance companies, publishing houses, or theaters; no wholesale merchants, no newspapers or editors, no undertakers, no real estate dealers, and no hospitals managed by negroes. In 1913 there are negroes managing all the above kinds of enterprises. They are editing 400 newspapers and periodicals. They own 100 insurance companies, 300 drug stores, and more than 20,000 grocery and other stores. There are 300,000 or more negroes working in the trades and in other occupations requiring skill—blacksmiths, carpenters, cabinetmakers, masons, miners, engineers, iron and steel workers, factory operators, printers, lithographers, engravers, gold and silver workers, tool and cutlery makers, etc.

"Fifty years ago it was unlawful for a negro to be employed in the postal service; for, in 1810, when the Post Office Department was organized, it was enacted that, under a penalty of \$50, 'No other than a free white person shall be employed in carrying the mail of the United States either as post rider or driver of a carriage carrying the mail.' There are now more than 3,950 colored persons in the government postal service. Altogether there are now over 22,440 negroes in the employ of the United States government.

"Fifty years ago it was unlawful to issue a patent to a slave, and the Attorney-General of the United States had just ruled that, in spite of the Dred Scott decision, patents might still be issued to free persons of color. Since that time about 1,000 patents have been granted to negroes. These inventions have mostly been mechanical appliances and labor-saving devices. Some of the things which negroes have invented during the past year are a telephone register, a hydraulic scrubbing brush, a weight motor for running machinery, aëroplanes, an automatic car switch, and an automatic feed attachment for adding machines.

"In 1863 it was not in the imagination of the most optimistic that, within fifty years, negroes would be making good in the field of finance, be receiving ratings in the financial world, or be successful operators of banks. When in 1888 the Legislature of Virginia was asked to grant a charter for a negro bank, the request was at first treated as a joke. There are now twelve negro banks in that State and sixty-four in the entire country. They are capitalized at about \$1,600,000. They do an annual business of about \$20,000,000. One of the strongest of these banks, the Alabama Penny Savings Bank, of Birmingham, at the close of business August 20, 1912, had resources amounting to \$477,000."

In concluding a most interesting and stimulating survey, the author says:

"During the past fifty years there has been a rapid increase in the wealth of the negroes of the South. This increase has been especially marked in the past ten years,

during which time the value of domestic animals which they own increased from \$85,216,337 to \$177,273,785, or 107 per cent; poultry from \$3,788,792 to \$5,113,756, or 35 per cent; implements and machinery from \$18,586,225 to \$36,861,418, or 98 per cent; land and buildings from \$69,636,420 to \$273,501,665, or 293 per cent.

"In 1863 the total wealth of the negroes of this country was about \$20,000,000. Now their total wealth is over \$700,000,000. No other emancipated people have made so great a progress in so short a time. The Russian serfs were emancipated in 1861. Fifty years later, it was found that 14,000,000 of them had accumulated about \$500,000,000 worth of property, or about \$36 per capita, an average of \$200 per family. Fifty years after their emancipation only about 30 per cent of the Russian peasants were able to read and write. After fifty years of freedom the ten million negroes in the United States have accumulated over \$700,000,000 worth of property, or about \$70 per capita, which is an average of \$350 per family. After fifty years of freedom 70 per cent of them have acquired some education in books."

Such a picture as that is surely good cause for pride and an eloquent assurance as to the future.

The most remarkable strides have been made in agricultural pursuits. Professor DeLoach will show you, from the wealth of his knowledge of the subject, how the negro farmer has advanced and is advancing, and he will no doubt point out how we may help this great development. It will suffice for me to call your attention to certain facts and figures contained in the 1910 census reports. According to these reports, there are in the South approximately two and one-third million negro farm workers. Of these, about one and one-third million are farm laborers and 890,141 are farmers owning or renting their farms. T. J. Jones points out that it is significant of the interest of the colored race in farming that, while the colored population increased only 10 per cent, the colored farmers increased 20 per cent. The white population, on the other hand, with an increase of 24.4 per cent, added to their farmers only 18 per cent.

Furthermore, colored farm owners increased in every Southern State. Even in Louisiana, where colored farmers decreased, colored owners increased from 9,378 in 1900 to 10,725 in 1910. The astounding advance of the negro in fifty years is strikingly seen in the fact that in Virginia 67 per cent of the colored farmers own their farms. Mr. Jones declares that, taking colored owners, tenants, and laborers together, it may be conservatively estimated that negro labor cultivates an approximate area of 100,000,000 acres.

To sum up his analysis of the 1910 Census, even at the risk of having you think I have forgotten my tentative promise about quoting statistics:

"Negro farm laborers and negro farmers of the South cultivate farms whose area is approximately 100,000,000 acres. Negro farmers cultivate 42,500,000 acres of Southern land. Forty per cent of all agricultural workers in the South are negroes. There are in the South approximately two and a third million negro agricultural workers, of whom almost one and a half million are farm laborers and 890,000 are farmers owning or renting their farms. Of the 890,000 negro farmers in the South, 218,000, or 25 per cent, are owners. Negro farm owners of the South own and cultivate 15,702,579 acres which they have acquired in less than fifty years. Add to this sum the land owned by the negroes of the North, and the total land ownership of the negroes of the United States undoubtedly aggregated 20,000,000 acres in 1910. The total value of land and buildings on farms owned or rented by the colored farmers of the South is almost a billion dollars."

The three archenemies of Southern farm life, as Professor Brough so well insists, are the tenant system in various guises, the one crop system, and rural isolation. To these he would add the abuse of the credit system. As well we know, all of these bear far more heavily upon the negro than upon the white man.

It has been said that the typical negro is not a servant, but a farmer. He has a greater disposition to stay on the farm than has the white man. One writer states that the

negro is actually land-hungry. Those of you who are familiar with the sacrifices the negro will make to buy land, the heroism and splendid spirit he displays in his effort to win a home of his own, will perhaps not marvel at the wonderful growth of the land-owning class among the colored race. And it should be borne in mind, especially in the light of certain news items that have reached us about practices in many other parts of the country, that in the South there is practically no opposition to the negro buying land. There are certain restrictions imposed in many cities, to be sure, but the big fact is that practically all over the South the negro is not hampered in his efforts to own a farm.

Marvelous development of business interests among negroes continues in the South as well as in the North. They have made tremendous strides in many lines. Negro druggists, merchants, undertakers, bankers, coal dealers, haberdashers, insurance and real estate agents, barbers, harness makers, lawyers, hotel and restaurant proprietors, poultry dealers, publishers, miners, photographers, and laundrymen have increased in number and efficiency in the last decade to a surprising degree. In business, as in farming, the negro in the South in the main encounters no discouragement on the part of his white neighbor. On the contrary, in many instances negro merchants serve a larger number of white than of negro patrons. A notable instance is seen in Williamsburg, Va., where one of the leading merchants of the city is a negro the best part of whose patronage is drawn from white people. In Charlottesville negro barbers, mechanics, and carpenters are preferred to white artisans by a large part of the white population.

In the banking business, as already indicated, the negro has moved ahead with mighty strides since the establishment of the first negro bank in 1888. A friend of mine told me the other day a story about a negro banker which serves to emphasize the change that has taken place in this phase of the economic advance of the race, for I am quite sure that, if it ever was true, it could not happen again: A negro had been depositing his funds at a bank run by negroes. After a time he went to the bank and asked for all

his balance. He was informed, so the story goes, that he had no balance. When he inquired how that was, he was told that the "interest had ate it all up." The distrust of banks on the part of many negroes is rapidly passing away. In small towns all over the South it is found that negroes are good patrons of the banks. There are also numerous building and loan associations that do a tremendous business with negroes. Prosperous negro banks are conducted in many Southern States, notably in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

The so-called "group economy" is proving an important factor in the economic progress of the negro. In some trades and in some kinds of business the negro seems to be passing away, but on close examination of conditions it is found that in these particulars he is not serving white people as extensively as formerly, but he is being patronized by members of his own race. Negro barbers, druggists, merchants, lawyers, dentists, and builders who are patronized exclusively by members of their own race are increasing constantly. In every town and city there are prosperous negro restaurants where there were none a few years ago. This indicates a great increase in wealth and general prosperity among the mass of negroes in the cities and towns, else they could not afford to support these dealers and professional men. It indicates another and, perhaps, more important thing—namely, race pride. Where negro merchants, for example, are to be found, negroes invariably patronize them rather than white merchants.

A very important phase of the question of the economic status of the negro is, to my mind, the attitude of trade-unions toward the negro. Dr. F. E. Wolfe, of Colby College, has written a valuable monograph, recently published, called "Admission to Trade-Unions." One chapter of this volume is devoted to the question of the admission of negroes.

"The Federation of Labor," Dr. Wolfe says, "has not only discouraged the exclusion of negroes, but it has continuously promoted organizations among negroes by positive measures."

The policy of the Federation now consists of two parts, he says. First, the substantial encouragement of the formation of separate unions for colored laborers in localities where they may not otherwise become organized; and, second, the advocacy in speech and publications of the admission of negroes, subject to the final discretion of individual national unions.

In another place Dr. Wolfe says: "Negroes are engaged in considerable numbers as tobacco workers, barbers, team drivers, miners, sailors, musicians, hotel and restaurant employees, foundry workers, pavers, hod carriers, and as workers in certain of the building trades, particularly as cement workers, plasterers, slate and tile roofers, wood, wire, and metal lathers, and metal workers. The national unions within these trades . . . have actively approved and substantially supported the admission and organization of negroes."

Many unions, he says, have approved of the organization of negroes by admitting them to membership in mixed as well as in separate local unions.

"Mixed unions," he continues, "may usually be found in any national union which charters separate negro unions, for the national pact binds each local union to accept the transferred members of another local union."

Dr. Wolfe also points out that only about twelve national unions, including the Locomotive Engineers, the Locomotive Firemen, the Switchmen, the Maintenance-of-Way Employees, the Wire Weavers, the Railroad Trainmen, the Railway Carmen, the Railway Clerks, and the Railway and Commercial Telegraphers, persist in regarding negroes as ineligible for membership; but the number of negroes engaged in these occupations is small.

This attitude of trade-unions is an important consideration from the point of view of the negro's economic opportunity, which, of course, is a factor in his economic status.

From this meager survey it will be seen, I think, that the economic status of the negro to-day is on a solid basis and justifies high hope for the future. Certainly no "divination of statistics" could have foretold what we see to-day

as we go about the South. But what of the great mass of negroes? Are they really better off now than they were fifty years ago? Are they improving economically? What can we do to help them?

In considering these questions it is well to bear in mind what Dr. Dillard emphasizes as a most important fact—namely, that the great mass of the negro population is in the South to stay for an indefinite period. In its last analysis, the negro problem is *our* problem. It is essentially a Southern problem. Therefore, what should we do to help along the economic improvement of the vast body of negroes? Any lasting improvement in the great mass must be made, not only with sympathy, but with the coöperation of the thoughtful people of the South.

In the first place, we should work to eradicate certain evils, already indicated, as the tenant and allied systems. We must encourage in every reasonable way the negro farmer, not only to stay on the farm, but to own the land, or part of the land, that he tills. In a recent communication Dr. John Lee Coulter expressed the point I wish to make very well when he said:

“The salvation of the South demands the *cultivation* of the negro. I use the word ‘cultivation’ here in the same sense that I would use it in agriculture. The cultivation of the morning-glory means the training of the plant and bringing it up into the most useful form. The cultivation of the negro means training the negro to be a useful person. I believe that the greatest opportunity presents itself in the South because it is very largely rural. I think that the negro should be taught to farm better. He should be forced to do things right. I personally believe in very stringent and, it may be, very severe methods when necessary to force people to do things right. In the North Central States I have in the past advocated the strictest kinds of vagrancy laws, and would not hesitate to force either white men or negroes to serve their time sawing wood, breaking stones, building roads, or otherwise serving the community if they refuse to work as individuals, either for themselves or for other individuals. The fact that a man has \$2 in his pocket

does not mean that he cannot be a vagrant. If he is not employed and becomes an eyesore in hanging around generally, he should be forced to work for the community as a whole unless there are such circumstances as physical defect, old age, or other good reason."

Another thing we can do, perhaps, as Professor Scroggs has said, is to increase the negro's wants. When his wants are few they are quickly satisfied. When that has been accomplished the average negro is no "busy bee" until his wants are again in the ascendancy. By increasing his wants we shall greatly increase his economic value to himself and to the country.

One other suggestion occurs to me in this connection. It relates to the question of the negro and public health. The economic status of the negro has improved in a wonderful way, but the indifference of the average negro to the laws of public health and hygiene costs the South millions of dollars and makes the negro far less efficient than he would otherwise be. We should, in every way possible, endeavor to bring the negro to a realization of the value of observing the laws of sanitation and hygiene.

We must not be deceived by statistics. The negro as a race has made vast strides in economic betterment in the last fifty years—in the last decade, for that matter; but what of the great mass of negroes? Have they improved? Are they really improving? I firmly believe they are, slowly but surely. Our duty is to urge the thoughtful people of the South to take an active interest in the welfare of the negro, not only for the good of the negro, but for the continued prosperity and well-being of our country.

THE NEGRO AS A FARMER

PROFESSOR J. H. DE LOACH, PH.D., UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

ONLY a few days ago I was discussing the negro problem with a distinguished physician of one of our larger cities in Georgia, and I could not but take careful note of his remark that "in our courts the negro population never gets justice." Whether this is literally true or not, it is generally true. Since hearing that remark, I have been trying to think whether the negro gets justice in any other line any more than he does in the courts of justice, and I am about to conclude that the courts are no exception in the matter of injustice.

Where does the negro stand as a farmer, and does he get justice in the matter of training for farm life? Is the white population coöperating with him in trying to make him a better farmer in order that he may help build up this great Southland of ours instead of letting him drift along and slowly but surely destroy, or help destroy, the South's and the world's greatest asset, the soil?

We have been too long recognizing the fact that to permit ignorance to reign supreme on our farms is to deprive future generations of a normally rich soil, and therefore of a normal supply of food and clothing. We have been far too long recognizing the fact that intelligence applied to the soil and the farm will bring larger dividends than when applied anywhere else; and whether we are landowners or tenants, we should aid in the great movement, world-wide in its application, to maintain and conserve the soil.

But we may ask ourselves this question: Does the negro get his share of training along this line? and, if so, is he capable of using his education to the best advantage? Can we establish the fact that it pays in dollars and cents, as well as otherwise, to help the negro understand the laws of the soil and the best farm practices? If so, we must then see just why we are not doing so. Is the negro so constituted that he cannot use profitably such information? These are questions that should concern anyone interested

in sociology and the negro problem in the South. The answer to them may help to solve not only the negro problem itself, but many other problems connected with the farm as well.

Several years ago I was invited to address a negro farmers' conference, and after I had finished my talk the negroes were kind enough to make me a life member of the conference. It has been my great pleasure since that time to attend these annual conferences and take special note of the progress of the negroes who are active members of the conference. The negroes themselves have gotten together the following facts with reference to the membership, and the information has interested me very much:

FACTS CULLED FROM THE FARMERS' CONFERENCE

Counties represented	8
Towns and villages represented.....	20
Acres of land owned by the members	6,245
Value of land.....	\$183,916

This is not a very large conference; yet it represents more real estate and money value than one would at first think, and all this belongs to negroes. There are a great many more renters and laborers than landowners in the conference, and these have been as greatly helped by the conferences as the landowners themselves.

There is a feature of these conferences that I have studied very much in order to get statistical information on the negroes' use and application of information about agriculture. I have begun within the last few years to question the members on their progress in farming since I myself became a member, and the answers have been more than surprising. In almost every individual instance there has been great improvement in the farms represented at the meetings. Some have increased their corn yield only two or three bushels per acre; others have increased about five or ten bushels; while one young farmer, a very intelligent negro, raised his yield on seven acres of good land from an average of eight or nine bushels to more than fifty bushels per acre.

At this time it may be well to call attention to just what kind of information I gave them and what kind other experts at the meeting gave them. I had charts and showed the effects of deep plowing and just how decaying vegetable matter would help to increase the yield of any farm crop. In fact, I spent much time telling in simple language the laws under which plants were striving to make a living for themselves and for us, especially plants that form our ordinary field crops, and they understood and heeded the messages. I went on to show what plant food was, how the plants ate it, and that if our plants were small they were starving. They caught the idea and applied it.

I went further than this, and showed them some simple lessons in farm economy. I pointed out how we may put only two or three hundred pounds more per acre of these useful plant foods and often reap three times the cost to pay for them. For instance, I have pointed out how easy it would be to apply four hundred pounds of a high-grade fertilizer per acre instead of two hundred pounds. The four hundred pounds would cost \$5 instead of \$2.50, the cost of the two hundred pounds. But the land on which the four hundred pounds were applied would yield \$8 worth of corn more to the acre than where only two hundred were applied, and would give even greater rewards relatively for cotton than for corn. They understood, and would after the second summer ask intelligent questions about fertilizers and nitrate of soda, and try to learn how the fertilizers should be applied to the land and how the crop could best be cultivated. When they were told, they understood, for the results prove that they understood.

I have had occasion to look up some general statistics on the black *versus* the white counties in Georgia, from the standpoint of crop yields. It is interesting to learn that in the counties generally, though not always, where the majority of landowners are negroes the farm crop yields per acre are greater than in counties where the majority of landowners are whites. Where the negroes are mostly tenants, the crop yields are not so high as where they own their own land. Some figures can be cited here:

In Glynn County, Ga., there were 155 farms in 1910. The whites owned 51 and the negroes 99 of these, while five were owned by foreigners. The yield of corn in that county was over 18 bushels, and cotton almost three-fourths of a bale per acre. In Oglethorpe County there were 622 farms, 498 of which were owned by whites, 120 by negroes, and the remaining four by foreigners. The yield of corn in Oglethorpe was a little more than ten bushels and of cotton one-third of a bale to the acre. Most of the negroes in Oglethorpe County are tenants, while the negro farmers in Glynn own their land. It is very hard to find out just what proportion of farm lands in these two counties is owned by negroes and what proportion owned by whites. But such a condition could hardly exist unless there was some difference in the thriftiness of the farmers themselves.

It has been pretty well established by the investigations of Professor R. P. Brooks, of the University of Georgia, that negroes are far thriftier and more reliable where they are more evenly disseminated among the whites than where they are permitted to congregate in large numbers. In the former case they get the impressions of thriftiness among their white neighbors often, and are made better farmers.

As a general thing negroes are easily taught and can be led to adopt any kind of information in their practices if the teacher is in sympathy with them and understands them. A great many of them are quite foolish in their attitude toward the white race, but we are so inclined to condemn them as a race that we can hardly blame them. What they need is help, and it is incumbent upon those who either employ them or live as neighbors to them to help them.

In most of the Southern States farmers' institutes are authorized and held in different parts of the several States for the discussion by experts of local farm problems, such as fertilizers, field crops, crop rotation, farm management, and the like. These institutes are intended mostly, if not altogether, for white farmers. The negroes as a general thing are not considered. In 1910 there were in Georgia 168,083 white and 122,559 negro farmers. Suppose we educate the white farmers to farm according to science and

they get the best results from the land, we are still losing very rapidly if almost one-half of the farm population on account of ignorance is destroying the good soils of the State by letting them wash into the rivers and on into the ocean. A farmer can save the land or waste it. He can waste more in one generation by failing to apply proper methods than he can build up in ten generations. We can conservatively say that this large negro population of Georgia is wasting at least \$300,000,000 a year from our Georgia soils by failing to farm in such a way as to keep the soils where they are. The ignorance of the negro not only hinders him from making progress, but is actually taking the landowners backward in this great loss of soil.

The all-important question is, What are we to do about it? We shall be forced sooner or later to reach out and help the negro to improve his methods of farming. We shall have to do this in self-defense, even if we persist in refusing the negro aid for his own good.

The practical work of helping the negro along the line of agriculture, it seems to me, will have to commence with simple lessons of extension work along the same line that we are holding Farmers' Institutes. Meetings must be given primarily for the negro, and we shall have to go into his own camp, by invitation, of course, and help him with his problems. We must have him realize that we wish him prosperity and are willing to help him attain greater efficiency. It is a long way from here and now to universal prosperity, and one generation need not expect to do more than help get any great movement started; but from my own experience, I must say that I believe we have too long neglected to help this struggling people to greater efficiency. Our methods almost seem to indicate that we have climbed up on the lower race instead of having lent a helping hand during his long period of adversity, not realizing ourselves that we have done the most costly thing and gotten the poorest results.

THE NEGRO WORKING OUT HIS OWN SALVATION

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NEGRO FARM OWNERSHIP: THE FACTS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

I. The Facts

1. AT present the drift of negro population in the South is distinctly countryward.

During the last census period our negro population in general increased barely 10 per cent, but our negro farm population increased more than 20 per cent. Just the reverse tendency is true among the whites of every Southern State except Kentucky.

In 1910 in the South the ratio of negro farm workers runs far ahead of negro population in general. For instance, in South Carolina the negroes are 55 per cent of the population, but 68 per cent of the farm workers. In Georgia they are 45 per cent of the population, but 53 per cent of the farm workers; in Alabama 42 per cent of the population, but 54 per cent of the farm workers; in Louisiana 43 per cent of the population, but 64 per cent of the farm workers; in Mississippi 66 per cent of the population, but 69 per cent of the farm workers. The negroes are 30 per cent of our Southern population, but they are 40 per cent of all the persons engaged in agricultural pursuits.

In Mississippi during the last census period negro farmers increased at a rate nearly two and a half times greater than the rate of increase for negro population in general, and in Georgia at a rate nearly three and a half times greater.

In every State of the South except Arkansas and Oklahoma the negro is a dwindling ratio of population in general, but he is an increasing ratio of population in the farm regions, Louisiana alone excepted.

2. On the other hand, the negro is a decreasing ratio of population in the cities of the South.

In 1900 thirty-three Southern cities, each containing twenty-five thousand or more inhabitants, had a negro population amounting to 10 per cent or more. During the following census period in all of these cities, except Fort Worth, negro population lagged behind the rates of white increase—in some of them far behind; as, for instance, in Atlanta and Macon. In others there was an actual loss of negro population.

Between 1865 and 1880 the towns and cities of the South seemed in fair way of being overrun and overwhelmed by the negroes. In 1910 it becomes evident that the negro is resisting the lure of city life and sticking to the farm better than the Southern white man.

Some fifty thousand negroes are engaged in the various professions, mainly teaching, preaching, medicine, and law; some thirty thousand more are engaged in various business enterprises—some of them with conspicuous success and distinction. But here, all told, are fewer than a hundred thousand upward-moving negroes.

On the other hand, two and a third million negroes are engaged in agricultural pursuits as day laborers, tenants, and owners. With their families, they represent more than four-fifths of their race in the South, and they cultivate a hundred million acres of our farm land, or two-thirds of our total improved acreage.

3. The negro, then, is wisely choosing or blindly moving to work out his own salvation as a race, not in city but in country civilization.

In the farm regions he is achieving a new economic status. He is rapidly rising out of farm tenancy into farm ownership. In a large way he is coming to be a landed proprietor. During their first twenty years of freedom the negroes made little headway in land ownership. They were absorbed either in politics or in religion, and this is particularly true of the leaders. The constructive achievements of the race were most marked in the direction of church-building and church organizations.

But during the last thirty years the negroes of the South have come to feel that bank books and barns are more important than ballot boxes. At all events they appear in the 1910 census not as farm workers or farm tenants merely, but as farm owners in large numbers.

Nearly one-fourth of all the negro farmers in the South own the farms they cultivate. In Florida they own nearly one-half of them, in Kentucky and Oklahoma more than one-half of them, in Maryland and Virginia more than three-fifths of them, and in West Virginia nearly four-fifths of them. In less than fifty years the negro has acquired possession of twenty million acres of farm land. Altogether his farm properties are valued at nearly \$500,000,000. Negro landholdings in the aggregate make an area a little larger than the State of South Carolina. The Russian serfs, after fifty years of freedom, have not made greater headway. They have not done so well indeed in their conquest of illiteracy.

True, cropping and share tenancy are increasing in the South faster than cash or standing-rent tenancy with its larger measure of independent self-direction—nearly seven times as fast during the last census period. But wherever land is abundant or labor scarce or white farmers are moving out, the negro rises out of share tenancy into cash tenancy and out of cash tenancy into ownership.

During the last census period the negroes of the South increased less than 10 per cent in population, but they increased 17 per cent in the ownership of farms against a 12 per cent increase of white farm owners. In Mississippi, Alabama, and North Carolina the farms cultivated by white owners increased only 9 per cent, but the farms cultivated by negro owners increased 19, 21, and 22 per cent in the order named. In Arkansas, while white farm owners increased 8 per cent, negro farm owners increased nearly 23 per cent. In Georgia the white farm owners increased only 7 per cent, but negro farm owners increased 38 per cent. Even in Louisiana, where there was an actual loss of negro farm population, there was an increase of 14 per cent in the number of negro farm owners.

In 283 counties, or nearly one-third of all the counties of ten Southern States, the negroes are in a majority. In sixty-one of these counties negro farm owners outnumber the white farm owners. This is true of five counties in Georgia, six in Oklahoma, eight in Arkansas, eleven in Mississippi, and seventeen in Virginia.

The negro farmer now owns \$37,000,000 worth of farm implements and tools, \$177,000,000 worth of farm animals, \$273,000,000 worth of farm lands and buildings. During the last ten years he has nearly doubled his wealth in farm implements, more than doubled his wealth in farm animals, and nearly trebled his wealth in farm land and buildings.

In Georgia, in 1910, the farms cultivated by white owners numbered 82,930, an increase of 5,776, or 7 per cent during the ten years. The farms cultivated by negro owners numbered 15,700, an increase of 4,324, or 38 per cent during this period. The rate of negro increase in farm ownership in Georgia is more than five times the rate of white increase during the last census period.

In 1880 Georgia negroes owned 580,664 acres of farm land, but in 1910 they owned 1,607,970 acres. It is nearly a threefold increase during the thirty years. Negro property upon the tax digests of Georgia now amounts to \$34,000,000. Three-fourths of it is country property. Their gains in property ownership in the rural regions of Georgia are amazing, but they appear so uniformly on our tax digests that they have ceased to be surprising.

Here, for instance, is one of the sixty-six counties in the black horseshoe belt of the State. The negroes outnumber the whites more than four to one. In 1910 they owned nearly one-tenth of all the farm land, nearly one-third of the plantation and mechanical tools, more than one-third of all the household goods and utensils, nearly one-half of all the farm animals, and one-sixth of the total aggregate wealth of the county.

In another county there are 1,148 negro farm owners. They outnumber the white farm owners nearly three to one. In the census year only twelve mortgages were recorded against the negro farms of this county.

In an adjoining county four-fifths of all the farms cultivated by owners are cultivated by negro owners. In the census year there were no mortgages whatsoever on negro farms in this county.

In my own county in 1910 they owned 8,283 acres of land; in one district more than one-fourth and in another nearly one-third of all the farm land. In all, 957 negroes in the county, or more than one in every three males of voting age, are home or farm owners.

Where they are thinly scattered among white majorities, they make even more astonishing gains. For instance, here is a county in which the negroes own 15,146 acres of land. Their gain in the ownership of farm animals in ten years was 291 per cent; in plantation and mechanical tools, 497 per cent; and in aggregate wealth, 310 per cent.

In the white belt is another county where the whites outnumber the negroes nearly two to one. But the gain by negroes in the ownership of plantation and mechanical tools during the census period was 376 per cent; in farm animals, 226 per cent; in total aggregate wealth, 230 per cent.

II. Their Significance

Here then in brief are the facts concerning negro farm and home ownership in the South. They show that the negro is a dwindling ratio of population in every Southern State except Arkansas and Oklahoma; that he is a decreasing ratio of population in the cities of the South; but that he is an increasing ratio of population in the farm regions of every Southern State except Louisiana. They show in every Southern State without exception that the negroes are increasing in farm ownership at a greater rate than the whites; indeed, at rates varying all the way from two and a half to five and a half times the rates of white increase in farm ownership. Of course their farm holdings are small and their total acreage relatively little; but assuredly they are getting what Uncle Remus calls a "toe-holt" in the soil.

1. *The Negro Works Out His Own Salvation Under Racial Law.*—The Southern negro, then, is working out his

own salvation, not in terms of politics, not in terms of formal education, but in terms of property ownership; and mainly in terms of land in the rural regions. He is doing this without let or hindrance in the South, largely aside from the awareness of the whites, largely because of their indifference, but even more largely with the sympathy and help of his white friends and neighbors. He is lifting himself up by tugging at his own boot straps, a figure commonly used to indicate an impossible something; but in civilization, as in education, it is the only possible means of elevation.

The negro is emerging from jungleism and winning civilization mainly and necessarily by his own efforts. He is coming out of darkness into light in accord with and in obedience to the laws of development. His progress every inch of the way is marked by struggle—struggle within himself for mastery over himself, and struggle with outward, untoward surrounding circumstances.

His real successes are achieved by himself. They cannot be thrust upon him by another. He cannot be coddled into civilization by an overplus of sympathy from friends far or near, North or South. We have tried to civilize the Indian with reservations and free rations, and we have failed.

The negro as a race will never stand really possessed of anything that he does not win worthily by himself and for himself. His gains in property ownership, position, influence, and prominence in economic and civic freedom will keep steady pace with racial efficiency. His destiny will be wrought out in terms biologic, economic, and social; and, as usual, in dumb, blind struggle for self-defensive adjustment to surrounding conditions.

2. *The Laws of Racial Development* have something like the steady, fateful pull and power of gravitation or any other natural law. These laws can be discovered and manipulated to accelerate or retard progress, just as all the laws of nature can be discovered and harnessed for constructive or destructive purposes. They can be recognized and applied as the laws of electricity have been recognized and applied. They cannot be invented and willed into

operation by individual bumptiousness or legislative blindness.

The negro problem will not be solved by editorials, screeds, or statutes; by conferences, congresses, or assemblies; by pride, prejudice, or passion.

The development of the negro can be stimulated, safeguarded, and directed wisely and beneficently. The asperities of natural law can be softened. The stream of tendencies can be kept clear of injustice and cruelty, brutality and inhumanity; and it will be so if we have any Christianity worth the name.

3. *His Chance Is in the Country.*—The way of salvation for the negro is not along the paved highways of city civilization.

Whether or not there be any definite racial recognition of this fact, it is nevertheless true that during the last census period there was a steady drift of negroes out of Southern cities into farm regions.

The modern city is everywhere a challenge to the civilization of any people, black or white. Under urban conditions the breath of man seems to be fatal to his fellows, but most of all fatal to the negro. Here he finds the struggle for existence fiercest. Here the forces of life most rapidly eliminate the weak and unfit. Here physical and moral diseases most rapidly work destructive results upon the race.

The death rate of negroes decreased during the last census period, but in the registration area it is still 60 per cent higher than the death rate of the whites; 66 per cent higher in Atlanta and Richmond, 77 per cent higher in Birmingham and Baltimore, 89 per cent higher in New Orleans, and 107 per cent higher in Charleston. In only one city of America, San Antonio, Tex., is the death rate of negroes lower than the death rate of whites.

In Washington City the death rate of negro infants from all diseases is from two and a half to nearly four times that of white infants; while the death rate of negro infants from tuberculosis is nearly four and a half times the death rate of white infants from this disease.

This disproportionate death rate among negroes is not entirely explainable in terms of race alone. They herd in slums in the cities North and South because they are poor. As a rule, sanitary conditions in these slums beggar description.

4. *He Wages a Losing Battle in the Cities.*—But also in the cities, North and South alike, there is a decreasing range and variety of industrial opportunities for the negro.

The barber shops, the shoe-shine parlors, the shoe-mending shops, the delivery and sale of newspapers, the waiting in hotels and restaurants, and even domestic service in the homes are steadily passing out of the hands of the city negro everywhere. The same thing is true of the building and repair trades of all sorts. He may be serving his own race more in these capacities, but he is certainly everywhere serving the white race less.

In the cities the negro as a race is waging a losing battle. The ravages of drink and drug evils, the vices and diseases of the slums make swift and certain inroads upon the race as a whole in the congested centers of our population.

5. *The Battle of Standards.*—It would be beyond reason to expect a belated people in any large racial way to succeed upon the highest levels of competition. His chances of progress are upon the lower levels, where life is less intense, the struggle for existence less desperate, and surrounding circumstances more propitious and helpful.

The negro's chance is the countryside. Here he succeeds and achieves a new economic status for the race.

It is everywhere true that lower standards of living prevail over and gradually displace higher standards of living wherever the higher standards are weakened by luxurious wants and undefended by increasing energy and skill. This social law is operative in the lower rounds of industry as well as in the simple life of the farm regions. The foreigner, for instance, displaces the native whites in the mills and on the farms of New England. In the South the immense gains of the negro in farm ownership is an apt illustration of this law.

6. *He Wages a Winning Battle in the Farm Regions.*—

The open country needs him as a farm worker. It holds out beckoning hands to him. The countryside has no slums. Fresh air, unmixed sunshine, and pure water are abundant. Fuel is everywhere plentiful. Nobody ever heard of a country negro's freezing or starving to death or even suffering for the necessities of life in the rural South. In the country there are fewer temptations to irregularities of living. He sleeps more and works harder. He is less tempted into dissipation and vice. His home life is cleaner and wholesomer. His children are closer to him and under better oversight. Family life is less apt to be disrupted by immoralities or desertion. He easily saves money and gets ahead in the world somewhat. The negro is waging a winning battle in the farm regions. He may be destined for the present to lose out everywhere else, but he is rising into a new economic level in the open country.

7. *His Civilization Begins in the Home-Ownning Instinct.*

—Negro civilization begins, then, as all other civilizations have begun—in the home-owning, home-loving, home-defending instinct, in the pride, the industry, the thrift, and the sense of law and order that are peculiarly bred in people by land ownership. It is difficult to civilize a landless, homeless people; sojourners, pilgrims, and strangers in the land, foot-loose and free to wander at sweet will and pleasure; without abiding interest in the schools and Churches of the community, in law and order, peace and progress.

It is the landless, homeless condition of the people of Mexico that makes Mexican civilization such a puzzling, baffling problem. The State despairs of civic stability for them, and the Church well-nigh despairs of salvation for them. Peonage, both economic and spiritual, is their inevitable lot until they have a stake in the land. In the nature of things freedom arises out of land ownership. "The land is the man," said the early Saxons; "no land, no man."

There is little hope in any country for vagrant tenants, black or white. A little more than a hundred thousand of the negro farmers of Georgia are tenants. Fifty-one per cent of them flit every year into new fields and pastures

green. They drift into the lumber camps, into and out of the railway gangs, into the slum quarters of the cities and out again.

Real progress in the civilization of this race lies with the home and farm owners. They are tethered by property ownership. They are steadied by self-denial, industry, thrift, and a sense of personal worth; and by the same cords they are bound to law and order. They develop the qualities and virtues of citizenship. They think twice before yielding to criminal impulse. In home and farm ownership they give hostages to society.

Land ownership sharpens the negro's wits, clarifies his vision, and supports his conscience. He becomes an efficient moral and social police against the idle and vicious of his own race. Widespread land ownership among the negroes would cure vagrancy as no legislation can ever do. Everywhere, among all peoples, patriotism is rooted in the soil and is nourished by it.

8. *Loses Faith in Spelling Books; Gains Faith in Pocket-books.*—It is not without significance that the enrollment and attendance of negro children in schools everywhere lag behind the enrollment and attendance of white children. This is true not only in the South but in the North and West, where ample school facilities, long terms, and splendid opportunities are freely open to them. The simple truth is, the negro is getting over the first flush of the notion I heard voiced ten years ago in my own home by the cook. She jumped on her little granddaughter in the shade of the back yard, saying, "You fool nigger, you better study dat jogfry lesson eff'n you ever 'spect to be a lady like Miss Edie."

He is losing faith in spelling books and gaining faith in pocketbooks just as he has lost faith in ballot boxes and gained faith in bank accounts. In Georgia barely more than two-thirds of the negro children are registered in the schools for so much as a single day during the year; and only a little more than one-third of them are in average attendance. That is to say, practically two-thirds of the negro children of school age are out of school the year

round. It is rather to the credit of the negroes that they turn indifferently away from the disgraceful negro schools in the country regions of the South.

Dumbly, blindly, and gropingly they are basing their progress, not on formal education, but upon the discipline of mind and body, disposition and character involved in the acquisition of property. Home and farm ownership calls for industry, steady and persistent; for self-denial and the sense of futurity out of which the capital of the business world has always been created. It calls for the prompt doing of things that ought to be done whether they want to do them or not. It calls for the weighing of remoter, greater satisfactions over against the pleasures and satisfactions of the moment. It calls for self-propulsion, self-compulsion, and severe self-inflicted discipline.

These are lessons learned only in the school of hard experience. They are jewels plucked only from the toad's head of adversity. They are developed in a race only by struggle upward through long periods of time. Here is industrial education that counts. It is education, not in languages, but in realities, in the things and affairs of life, by the goad of lively ambition or pinching necessity.

The tree of knowledge is best watered by the sweat of labor. Life is subdued by dyeing one's hands in the stuff itself. Doing precedes knowing as certainly in civilization as in religion. Doing something, having something, knowing something, and being somebody is a necessary order of development for individuals and races alike. Knowing by doing is a fundamental law of pedagogy. It is also a fundamental law of race progress. An illiterate home and farm owner is a far more worthful man and citizen and really is far better educated than the man who speaks many languages and is ignorant in them all.

9. *Black Skins; White Characters.*—Out of property ownership comes a certain sense of personal worth and dignity, and a sure realization of the force and driving power of character. One of my earliest recollections concerns a young coal-black negro in North Carolina winning his spurs in a great speech before a great audience of both

racess. He daringly stood for the right as he saw it, in opposition to the overwhelming sentiment of his people. He was fighting a great enemy and curse to his race, the drink evil. When Price was cut down by untimely death, he was laid away with distinguished honors. Four of the pallbearers were black and four of them were white, the Chief Justice of the State among them.

Upon another occasion I heard the Monday program of a Southern Chautauqua publicly adjourned to do honor to a negro. The stores of the little city were closed and apparently everybody, black and white, was in attendance upon the funeral. He was a prosperous negro farmer in the county, whose account was sought by every merchant in the city, whose word was as good as his bond, whose advice and counsel to his people were always sane and safe. Always he stood as a breakwater against lawlessness and disorder of every description. Again the pallbearers were both white and black, and Frank Hill was laid away with a distinct sense of loss on the part of the entire community.

10. *The Need for Non-Partisan Studies.*—Negro farm ownership in 283 (or nearly one-third) of the cotton belt counties in which the negroes are densely massed is one problem. Farm ownership among negroes thinly scattered in white counties among white majorities is another problem. In one case negro property owners manifestly yield to the upward pull of the surrounding superior mass. Here they certainly acquire ownership with accelerated rapidity, and with advantage to themselves and the community at large. In the other case, negro farm owners are thinly scattered in black counties among black majorities. Do they yield to the downward pull of the surrounding, inferior mass of shiftless, thriftless negroes? Is negro life in these counties slipping back into savagery?

The answer calls for complete acquaintance with the facts. There are now many negro communities that are working out their salvation under conditions more or less sequestered. In Louisa County, Va., the negroes own fifty-three thousand acres of land; in Liberty County, Ga.,

fifty-five thousand acres; in Macon County, Ala., sixty-one thousand acres. In Beaufort County, S. C., negro farm owners outnumber white farm owners seventeen to one. Negro civilization in these counties is at hand for investigation under a dry light. Mound Bayou, Miss., Boley, Okla., Tuskegee, and Greenwood are centers of negro farm communities. There is abundant opportunity for direct, first-hand study by non-partisan investigators. And there is need for race studies by scientific students, in scientific ways, and in scientific spirit.

The negro has suffered from the zeal of retained attorneys for preconceived opinions; almost as much from indiscreet friends as from hostile critics. The skies ought to be cleared by impersonal, impartial acquaintance with the facts, whatever they are, concerning negro problems and progress. Many good people in the South stand hesitatingly aloof because they are insufficiently informed and honestly in doubt about what is really best for the negro and the community in which he lives.

11. *Getting Land the Beginning of Economic Wisdom.*—It seems fairly clear that neither for the negro nor for any race is well-being fully determined by physical surroundings. Being better off does not necessarily mean being better. Home and farm ownership by the negroes is not the end of the problem, but it seems to be a necessary beginning. With all his getting, the negro is getting wisdom enough to get land, and it is at least the beginning of economic wisdom and sovereign freedom.

By virtue of home and land and other property ownership he is coming to be a civilizable, Christianizable creature. Without it his religion would always be an emotional, unrelated, unapplied frenzy. With it he stands a chance to bridge the gulf between creed and conduct, emotion and action. Is he gaining in industry, honesty, law-abidingness and comfort? Yes—to the extent that he is gaining in home and farm ownership, and not greatly otherwise.

Of course he has not always wisely used the opportunities and privileges of this new-found freedom. Neither did our Teuton forefathers in the days that followed the

Reformation. Slipping the bridle of the priest, they found themselves loose in pagan meadows. They were coltish accordingly. The seventeenth century in Protestant Europe is a story of unchecked sensuality and rout, vice and viciousness, lawlessness and crime. Racial self-restraint and self-control are not speedily developed in any race, anywhere, at any time.

12. *Crumbs of Religious Instruction.*—The full significance of such religion as we really have could not have been hidden from the negro, nor could he possibly have escaped its influence. Our religion, such as it is, has wrought its effect upon him far above and beyond any conscious will and effort. The negro has made amazing gains in Church activities, religious organization, church-building, and church property ownership of all sorts. His white friends and neighbors in the South have contributed largely to the building and support of negro churches and church enterprises. We have given building sites and money—constantly, good-naturedly, and more or less indifferently. We have laughed good-humoredly at the negro's religion. We have told many a joke about its emotional nature and its lack of relation to ethical conduct.

But—and I think I ought to say it—the spiritual well-being of the negro has not been a heavy burden of responsibility upon our souls. Of late years he has had barely more than the crumbs of religious instruction that have fallen from our tables. For the most part we have left to the negro the cure of his own soul. We have not been full of heaviness because of his sickness. We have not been greatly disturbed because he has been sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death. It may be that after a while we shall come to be concerned about the black man's soul. We cannot safely exclude from our scheme of ethics or religion any creature, dumb or human, black or white, who needs our help. We are learning this fundamental lesson—slowly.

13. *The Outlook.*—Nevertheless it remains always and everlastingly true that his destiny lies not in his stars, nor in another, but in himself. The negro will work out

his own salvation, and doubtless in fear and trembling. It could not be otherwise. It is a fateful law of life, economic and social, civic and spiritual.

But Paul writes it to the Philippians with unspeakable tenderness. It will be well for both races in the South if they be saturated with the spirit of this Epistle. It will be ill for both if either misses its meaning.

The negro problem will be settled upon no plane lower than the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount.

SOCIAL AND HYGIENIC CONDITION OF THE NEGRO AND NEEDED REFORMS

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I HAVE no new facts to offer, no new tables of statistics to present. What few facts and figures I shall use, I have taken from the studies of others who have given to the subject an amount of time and energy I could not hope to duplicate. Nor do I offer this as an apology for laziness, or even as an expression of regret. To tell the truth, I believe we have, and have had for some time, all the facts we need for our particular purpose. And by "we" I mean, of course, those who are intelligently interested in the race adjustment problem.

I am a firm believer in science and scientific methods: I appreciate the value of masses of data and statistical studies, but I do not believe in fetiches, even scientific ones, and I fear that we are now beginning to commit sins in the name of science just as formerly they were committed in the names of truth, liberty, justice, and the other cardinal virtues. It is neither science nor sense to count the leaves on a tree, or the grains of sand in a mound, or the number of times the various letters of the alphabet occur in the Bible or in Shakespeare. To do this is manifestly a

waste of time and energy, and adds nothing of value to our knowledge of the respective subjects. Therefore, when some sociologists raise the cry for facts, more facts, and still more facts—as if there lay some peculiar charm or virtue in the very amassing of them—I fear that they have either developed a morbid craving for such things, like the miser who hoards his gold, but is afraid to spend any of it; or else in their subconsciousness they have an aversion to looking the problem squarely in the face, and hope to postpone the unpleasant day by insisting (not without some satisfaction to what they are pleased to call their true scientific spirit and proper conservatism) that we haven't enough facts as yet to warrant our attempting any practical solution of the problem. The woods are full of those whose interest in the subject is academic. Keep it on this high plane, and they are rationally and sentimentally satisfied; but suggest some definite and practical action, and their tastes and temperaments immediately compel them to withdraw. And so inertia and prejudice, in the guise of scientific caution, check for another year, at least, the advance of progress and reform.

No one, I think, would seriously argue that the present attitude of the masses toward the negro is due, in any large measure, to the lack of accurate and detailed knowledge concerning him and the various phases of his life; or that the more favorable attitude of some Southerners and Northerners is due to their possession of this knowledge. Indeed, there are numerous instances among the latter where the favorableness of the attitude has been in inverse proportion to the knowledge of the subject. The difference is due rather to difference in general culture, with its effects upon the feelings and emotions, the conscience and will, than to the possession or lack of specific information. Knowledge itself is not virtue, as Socrates thought, else there would be no discrepancy between knowing and doing. Knowledge, to be sure, is necessary; facts and figures are essential, but after a sufficient quantity of these have been gathered, we need action, moral courage, and a bit of fervor and enthusiasm to make the knowledge effective and fruitful. We need to cash in our facts, now and then, and con-

vert them into deeds, if we are to escape the condition of the miser mentioned above. As Fichte well said: "Not merely to know, but according to thy knowledge to do, is thy vocation." The hosts of reformers and benefactors of the race, from the Founder of Christianity and his apostles to the founders of the latest republic—these did not ask for more facts and statistics; these did not consciously or subconsciously seek excuses for procrastinating; it was sufficient for them to know in a general, yet not uncertain, way that conditions needed remedying, that they could be remedied, and forthwith they set themselves vigorously to the task of doing it. And in doing so they forever changed the facts of human history. For it should be remembered that facts are made, not found. Alter the conduct of men, and you alter the facts that affect them.

This, it seems to me, is the present-day need with respect to the negro problem. We need not more facts, valuable as these are, but more faith; not more statistics and academic studies, but more religion, more genuine religion—more faith in the brotherhood of man and Fatherhood of God—actually to believe in it, as we believe that the earth revolves around the sun; and not merely subscribe to it perfunctorily on Sundays. It is good science, as well as good religion, and we need to take it seriously. Let us confess it: we need more love and sympathy and charity and the milk of human kindness when we deal with people who are different and less fortunate than ourselves; more *noblesse oblige* with those handicapped in life's struggle. And these things are not to be had upon the presentation of a few facts. They need to be cultivated and developed by constant preaching and teaching from press and pulpit and platform, in the schools and colleges and on the stump. We need missionary work, and a company of fearless missionaries who will have the high courage to teach unpopular truths to their own people and in their own communities.

I say these things, not as one who brings an indictment against his people. Far from it. I know we are a generous folk, warm-hearted, chivalric, and sympathetic; we have noble impulses and worthy ideals; we cultivate the virtues as well as the graces of enlightened society, and no people

is quicker to respond to human appeals than we are. Had the slaves been taken originally to Germany, Russia, Turkey, or other foreign countries, I am sure that the most active and eloquent champions of their "God-given and inalienable rights and privileges as human beings" would have come from our own Southern States. For we instinctively hate oppression and tyranny in whatever shape or form. And yet we do not altogether live up to this characterization in our own treatment of the negro. How shall we explain the inconsistency?

To answer this adequately would require an extended psychological analysis of race prejudice, many elements of which are older than the human race and not without their positive value in the evolution of the species. There is one element, however, which plays a very important role, but which has not as yet received its due recognition. I refer to the power which ideas and beliefs have over conduct. When Descartes persuaded his contemporaries that animals are mere automata, without intelligence or feeling, even the tender-hearted Malebranche could without hurt to his feelings kick the dog that was fawning on him. When belief in demoniacal possession was prevalent, excellent, God-fearing men helped to burn, stone, and drown the possessed. The belief that their ancestors were much wiser and better than they could ever hope to become had much to do with arresting the development of the Chinese for more than two thousand years. And so the illustrations might be multiplied.

I fear the attitude of many of our people toward the negro has been determined to a considerable extent by equally erroneous ideas. They have been persuaded by a generation of short-sighted, uneducated, and unscrupulous demagogues that the development and elevation of the negro is somehow incompatible with the best interests of the white men; that prosperity for the black man spells ruin for the white man; that what is good for the one is bad for the other; what is true for one is false for the other. And so this strange state of affairs has come to pass: that those traits and things we admire when possessed by ourselves and all the white world, we dislike when they appear in the

negro; our virtues, when cultivated and practiced by the black man, become by some strange alchemy transformed into vices. Thus we recognize that education is a good thing, and those who strive for it are deserving of approbation and even praise. Likewise, manliness and self-respect are commendable; and ambition and thrift and the pursuit of happiness are not to be condemned. And yet there are too many who prefer the ignorant, lazy, diseased, immoral negro—even the vicious and criminal one—to the self-respecting, progressive, property-owning, educated one.

Now it is evident that this condition cannot long continue without endangering the very foundations of our civilization. Double-dealing of this sort is bound ultimately to bring bankruptcy and ruin. Hence the urgent need, as I see it, for courage, patriotism, and zeal to be spent in popular educational efforts which shall seek to bring about a change in the prevailing attitude toward the negro similar to that which Rousseau wrought, single-handed, in the field of education proper, and later in the realm of government.

Coming more closely to the subject assigned, we may observe that it is well known that the negro death rate is excessively high—almost twice that of the white—and that the diseases which exact the heaviest toll are consumption, pneumonia, scrofula, syphilis, and infantile diseases (infantile marasmus, cholera infantum, whooping cough, inanition). But the erroneous conclusion is drawn from these facts that the negro has a lower vitality or resistance power than the white, due to an inferior physical organism. Thus Mr. Frederick L. Hoffman, who has been widely quoted, writes: "The vitality of the negro may well be considered the most important phase of the so-called race problem; for it is a fact which can, and will, be demonstrated by indisputable evidence, that of all races for which statistics are obtainable, and which enter at all in the consideration of economic problems as factors, the negro shows the least power of resistance in the struggle for life."*

Mr. Hoffman's prepossessions have patently led him to commit the fallacy of "false cause." For it is also a fact

*"Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro," p. 37.

that there is more poverty among the negroes, more illiteracy and ignorance of the laws of health, modern sanitation, and personal and public hygiene; that their living quarters are inferior, their physical environment less sanitary, and that a much larger percentage of their mothers are breadwinners, which means neglect of the children, malnutrition, etc. And inasmuch as these are causes of disease among all peoples, the world over, why may they not account for the excessive disease and death rate among the negroes? Mr. Hoffman would hardly maintain that the larger disease and death rate of the Russian peasants, for example, half of whose children die before one year of age, or of our own factory and mill workers indicate that they possess the least power of resistance in the struggle for life.

Moreover, a comparison of the negro death rate in the different cities brings out unmistakably the relationship between the factors above mentioned and disease and death. Thus the negro death rate for Charleston, S. C., as given by the United States Census for 1900, and quoted by the Atlanta University investigators, is 46.7 per thousand population; that of Savannah, 43.4; New Orleans, 42.4; Richmond, 38.1; Norfolk, 33.8; Nashville, 32.8; Atlanta, 31.8; while Cleveland shows only 18; Columbus, 21.2; New York, 21.3; Chicago, 21.6; Indianapolis, 23.8; Boston and Buffalo, 25.5; and New Haven, which has the highest rate of the twelve Northern cities studied, 31.8. These are the crude rates, but the corrected rates make no appreciable difference in the results for comparative purposes. Again, it appears from the above-mentioned study that the death rate of the Chicago negroes is lower than that of the whites in New Orleans, Charleston, Savannah, Atlanta, Mobile, and Memphis; that of the Boston negroes is lower than the white rate in Charleston; and the negro rates in Philadelphia, Indianapolis, and Chicago are lower than the white rates in both Charleston and Savannah. The Savannah white infantile mortality is higher than the negro rates in Pittsburg, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Chicago, and Boston. In the Northern cities, too, the negro rates approximate more nearly the total rates than in the Southern cities.

Furthermore, there has been a constant decrease in both the disease and death rates for the negroes in all the cities, both South and North, during the past thirty-five or forty years.

But why multiply figures? The negro is a human being, and modern anthropology has shown that the differences among human beings—*anatomical, physiological, and mental*—are insignificant as compared with their fundamental resemblances and identities. We shall certainly not need a negro science of medicine. The things that breed disease among the whites—*poverty, ignorance, overcrowding, immorality, alcoholism, insanitary premises, neglect and malnutrition of children, etc.*—will breed disease with equal facility among the negroes. And we may rest assured that the measures and remedies that prevent and cure diseases among the whites will do the same for the blacks.

And what is true of the body in this respect is also true of the mind. The conditions that make for morality or immorality, for happiness or unhappiness, for love and hate, sympathy and antipathy, kindness and cruelty, etc., among the whites accomplish the same results for the blacks. We shall not need a separate psychology for the negroes, nor a separate logic, ethics, sociology, economics; not even a separate religion or art. The laws and facts of human nature discovered by these various sciences are equally true of the colored races of man as of the white. Science knows no essential distinctions, because nature knows none. And that is why, in my opinion, our problem is not nearly so difficult as it might be, or as it appears to some. We know the essential facts and conditions; we know that everything human, from culture to disease, is intercommunicable among the races of men; we know that the foundation stones upon which this universe rests are righteousness and justice, and honesty, and love; we know that injustice cannot be done with impunity to the doer, that it must be paid for with compound interest and at an exorbitant rate; we know that no problem can be permanently solved unless it be solved fairly and in a generous spirit; we know that the negro is here to stay, and that our welfare and happiness and health and progress are inextricably interwoven with

his—then let us teach these truths honestly and fearlessly, though not in an unwise or unpedagogical manner, to those who do not know them, especially to to-morrow's citizens. To be more specific, let me suggest that this organization might make a beginning in this direction by appointing a committee to select materials concerning the negro and his adjustment to our civilization, suitable for inclusion in our school histories, geographies, and readers; and that recommendations be made to all the Southern colleges and universities that a course in Race Adjustment be given in their departments of Sociology and Economics. In this way, I believe, we shall most speedily and effectively rid our social system of the poisons of prejudice which are now causing so much suffering and loss to both races; and in this way we shall lay the foundation, at least, for the satisfactory solution of the problem in the future.

There remain to be made a few brief and general remarks concerning the needed reforms. All will agree, I think, that the housing of the majority of negroes is in imperative need of improvement. It is neither right nor rational to expect, to any considerable extent, good citizenship, efficiency, desire for improvement, pride, ambition, intelligence, morality, or any other desirable quality from a people who must live in shanties and hovels located in unsanitary and unsightly back alleys and bottoms. We have no right to expect the physical environment which is known to exert a powerful influence upon the life and character of whites to be obligingly ineffective in the case of the negroes. Miss Ovington found in her study of the New York negro that two model tenements built by Mr. Henry Phipps in the notorious San Juan Hill district have made that particular section of it "one of the peaceful and law-abiding blocks of the city."* A clean, attractive house and a clean street, like clean, well-kept clothes, make for morality and order and good conduct.

But not only is the average negro settlement inimical to good citizenship, using the term broadly; it is also the breeding place of contagious diseases. And this fact, no

*"Half a Man," p. 42.

doubt, accounts to a large extent for not only the high death rate among the negroes in Southern cities, but also among the whites. We must have anti-shanty laws and public health laws, which shall prevent overcrowding and the breeding and spreading of disease and vice, for our own sakes and our children's sakes, if not for the negro's sake. Modern plumbing and sewerage are no longer luxuries for the rich; they are necessities one might almost say in inverse proportion to wealth and culture. Such laws would work no hardship upon the owners of negro houses, for it is well known that houses occupied by negroes, like those used for immoral purposes, bring the highest rentals and rates of interest. If the negro receives less for his dollar than the white man, he retaliates, or nature retaliates for him, by making the white man turn over the excess, and some of his own for interest, to the physician and undertaker.

Selfish and humanitarian impulses combined should lead to coöperation in the establishment and support of more hospitals, asylums, orphanages, reform schools, and other institutions and agencies that minister to human needs. Some day, perhaps, we shall not even be unwilling to help support parks and playgrounds, which will make wholesome utilization of their naturally strong play impulses.

Above all, there is needed in each community a permanent Race Adjustment Committee, composed of members of both races, whose business it shall be to strive to bring about that condition so strikingly and aptly described by Booker T. Washington in his famous Atlanta Exposition address, which, by the way, would fit admirably into the reader proposed above: "In all things that are purely social, we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

THE PREVALENCE OF CONTAGIOUS AND INFECTIOUS DISEASES AMONG THE NEGROES, AND THE NECESSITY OF PREVENTIVE MEASURES

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IT is now easy to differentiate clearly between contagious and infectious diseases, and these terms are frequently used interchangeably. Contagious diseases are propagated by immediate contact or intervention of some other medium from the sick to the healthy. Many of the diseases commonly called contagious are also infectious—that is, they are propagated, not by direct contact, but by water, air, and food which may become infected with living germs.

With our present knowledge some diseases are simply contagious, and we cannot conceive of their being transmitted by infected air or drinking water. Cholera and typhoid fever are examples of infectious diseases, neither of them being directly contagious from the sick to the well, but through other agencies. Smallpox is not only contagious but also infectious.

The germs of infection in contagious diseases may be conveyed either by inanimate objects which come in contact with the original sources of the disease or by living animals. Transmission by animals, especially insects, is now attracting a considerable amount of attention. The common housefly, which has been for ages considered only a troublesome nuisance, is regarded as one of the most dangerous carriers of disease, especially typhoid fever. Mosquitoes are now known to be the agents by which malaria and yellow fevers are transmitted. Flies, bedbugs, spiders, and lice have been tried and pronounced guilty of acting as carriers of diseases. Rats and ground squirrels cause the spread of the bubonic plague, and a war to exterminate them is now being waged on the Pacific Coast and in other countries.

This is the age of preventive medicine. It is probable that more progress has been made in this direction during the last thirty years than in all of the preceding centuries. The establishment on a firm basis of the germ theory of diseases has produced a decided change in regard to both the cause and treatment of many diseases whose origin had hitherto been an unsolved mystery.

Pulmonary consumption was for ages considered a hereditary disease, but it is now known to be caused by a germ known as bacillus tuberculosis.

Diphtheria has lost many of its terrors and the mortality from this disease has been largely decreased. It has been estimated that one-half of the deaths occurring in this country might be prevented if proper precautions were observed.

In former days pulmonary consumption was a rare disease among the slave population of the South; now it is one of the most common and fatal. In the registration area of 1890 the death rate was 546 of the colored to 230 of the white per 100,000. In 1900 it was 485 to 175. In the larger cities and towns of the South the death rate from consumption is from two to four times as great as that of the whites. In Nashville in 1911 the death rate was 24-10 per cent as great.

The health of the negro is a question of vital importance to the white people of the South. The cooking, washing, nursing, and general household work is largely in their hands. The prevalence of contagious diseases among them is a menace to all with whom they may come in contact. "No man liveth unto himself and no man dieth unto himself." We are our brother's keeper.

CAUSES OF EXCESSIVE DEATH RATE AMONG COLORED PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH FROM CONTAGIOUS DISEASES

Ignorance

Ignorance of the laws of health is common among fairly well educated people, but among those who have had few opportunities to obtain an education it is much more preva-

lent. One of the most common errors is that night air is unhealthy, and that every door, window, and other opening of sleeping rooms must be tightly closed. In addition to this many cover their heads with thick blankets and comforts. It is possible that this fear of night air originated from the once common belief that malaria was more likely to attack those who were out at night or slept with open windows, little realizing that the mosquito, not night air, was the cause of malarial diseases. The healthful influence of sunlight is but little understood, and in houses that are well provided with windows they are carefully closed by shutters or thick curtains.

Poverty

1. This means that they do not know how to judiciously invest the small amount of money they have allotted them for household expenses, and that they are not properly supplied with nutritious food.

2. Insufficient and unsuitable clothing, especially warm underclothing and good shoes.

3. Lack of a proper amount of sleep. Religious exercises as well as balls and secret societies are frequently continued until late hours, and as laboring people must rise early in the morning they have from four to five hours to sleep instead of six, seven, and eight hours.

4. They are frequently exposed to the vicissitudes of the weather and often poorly protected.

Environments

The location of many of their dwellings is unhealthy. If they rent their houses, they are often situated in crowded alleys or they are compelled to occupy dark, damp basements which are badly ventilated and poorly lighted. If they are to own their own home, it is frequently impossible for them to purchase lots or houses in desirable localities. Some one has said that it is impossible for a family to be born, live, and die in one room, and be able to reach any high degree of culture or morality if they are obliged to live in such a condition. This is true of a large number of colored families.

Migration to Cities

It is to be regretted that so many families who were comfortably situated in the country should flock to the cities, where the demand for unskilled labor is far less than the supply, the chance for making a comfortable living less on account of less demand, where their sanitary surroundings are likely to be far inferior to those in the country, and where they will be exposed to all of the temptations of city life. During the last decade the colored population of the Southern cities increased a little over 20 per cent, which is 7 per cent less than the increase of the white population for the same period.

Superstition and Fatalism

The voodooism of the native African, when compounded with the superstitions of the Scotch, Irish, and English, makes a curious mixture which is sometimes annoying, but oftener quite serious in its results. Good luck will come to those who have a horseshoe nailed over the door, and the left hind foot of a graveyard rabbit will bring good luck to the person who carries one about on his person. If the seventh daughter treads over the back of a person afflicted with rheumatism, a complete cure is sure to follow. A horse chestnut carried in the pocket will also cure the same disease. The conjure bag in the hands of an enemy is sure to produce untold evils. I was once called to treat a woman who was confined to her bed afflicted with what seemed to be some obscure disease that I was unable to diagnose, and my treatment was very unsatisfactory to both myself and the patient. Calling one day when she seemed much better, I was informed that she had found out what her trouble was. She said that she had suspected that she had been conjured, and on cutting open her pillow she found that it contained a conjure bag. After this had been taken out she began to recover, and in a short time was as well as usual. We must acknowledge that while we cannot understand the power of the mind over the body in diseases we must recognize its importance.

My readers may not be aware of the fact that 1913 is an unlucky year, as it contains the number 13, and the occurrence of floods, fires, and tornadoes clearly indicates that this is true. I know of one young woman who hurried her preparations for marriage, and had the ceremony performed a few days before the beginning of this year. Every one knows that no undertaking should be begun on Friday. People of the Anglo-Saxon lineage should not be too ready to condemn the superstitions of their colored brethren when they consider the source from which many of them were derived.

I do not propose to discuss the question of fatalism from a theological standpoint, but from that of health, and it is sometimes hard to distinguish between faith and presumption. If a man thoroughly believes that he cannot die until his time comes, he will be very unlikely to take the proper measures to care for health and prolong life. It would of course be of no use to summon a physician in case of sickness or to employ a surgeon for an operation. I was once called upon to sign a death certificate of a little girl whom I had treated. The mourning friends did not blame the attending physician, but said that he had done the best he could, that the girl's time had come to die, and all the doctors in the world could not have saved her.

Remedies

The practical question is, What can be done to diminish the excessive death rate now prevailing among the colored people of the South, especially in the large cities and towns?

1. Instruction in practical hygiene should be given in every public school, and teachers who are not capable of instructing their pupils in this direction should not be allowed to teach.

2. An advance course regarding the preservation of health should be made obligatory in all secondary schools, colleges, and universities, and should constitute a part of the regular course of study in such institutions.

3. Ministers should at stated intervals speak to their congregations on the subject of public health, and similar

instructions might be given in Sunday schools and young people's societies.

4. In large cities and towns competent colored nurses should be employed by the public authorities to visit the homes and give advice and needed assistance to all who are threatened with or actually suffering from consumption.

5. More colored physicians should be prepared to go and administer to the wants of their people, and these physicians should coöperate with the health authorities in preventing the spread of consumption and other contagious diseases. In a number of cases a colored health officer has been appointed and has proved very effective in carrying on the work.

6. The health authorities should exert their influence and aid in every way in the suppression of everything that tends to promote the spread of these diseases.

7. Hospitals for tubercular cases ought to be established in every State for the reception of patients who may be amenable to hygienic and medical treatment. In counties where there is a large colored population there might be arrangements for the reception of patients from that county alone or a number of counties might unite in supporting such an institution. Davidson County, Tenn., has a model sanitarium which has proved of great benefit to the colored people of Nashville and vicinity.

8. All physicians should be required to report all suspected cases of tuberculosis, and where they do not receive the proper attention at home they should be removed to some hospital for treatment.

The colored people should be impressed with the value of vaccination for the prevention of smallpox, and all pupils of both public and private schools should be vaccinated. The last years very clearly demonstrate the value of inoculation for the prevention of typhoid fever. This has been compulsory in the United States Army and Navy, and it now seems clearly evident that this most dreaded and fatal disease can be prevented. How soon enlightened public sentiment may demand this treatment remains yet to be seen. It does not appear that the hookworm is any more preva-

lent among the colored population than the white. The remedy for this disease is so simple and certain that there is no excuse for not having it applied.

In cases of diphtheria and scarlet fever a strict quarantine should be established, a competent physician called as soon as possible, and in case of death no public funeral should be allowed. Suspicious cases of sore throat should receive prompt attention, and children thus affected should not be allowed to attend public schools until they have been examined by a physician, who must decide whether the case is dangerous. The question of venereal diseases is too delicate a subject to be publicly discussed in an assemblage of this kind, but it is one that should be carefully studied by both physicians, preachers, and laymen. If the guilty persons were the only sufferers, it would give less concern, but the innocent suffer with the guilty and "the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation."

DESIRABLE CIVIC REFORMS IN THE TREATMENT OF THE NEGRO

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It is a noteworthy fact that in 1912, for the first time since the Civil War, the Republican national platform contained no reference to the problem of the negro. It is equally significant that the platform of the newborn Progressive party was also silent on this subject. These omissions have been bewailed by certain types of negro leaders and also by some of their Northern sympathizers, but it seems to me a cause for rejoicing that Northern politicians have ceased to find it profitable at regular four-year intervals to deplore the wrongs of the black man. The race problem as a national political issue will not probably be relegated to that limbo whither Anti-Masonry, Know-Noth-

ingism and the "bloody shirt" have already wended their way. If the politicians of the South would only follow the example of their Northern brethren and leave the race question severely alone, the country would profit still further, though a few individuals now holding high office might have to retire to private life.

The removal of the race question from politics must precede any far-reaching reform in the treatment of the negro, and the sooner this is accomplished the sooner shall we be able to carry out one part of the program of this Southern Sociological Congress—"the solving of the race question in a spirit of helpfulness to the negro and of equal justice to both races." If we as members of this Congress are to coöperate in promoting this spirit of equal justice, we must necessarily familiarize ourselves with the present civic status of the negro. None of us, I am sure, will have the hardihood to affirm that the negro's treatment as a member of our citizen-body is quite what it should be. In saying this I do not have in mind any criticism of that basic fact in the relations of whites and blacks, social segregation. This is a phenomenon found in all ages and in all countries where members of diverse races have been brought together in anything like equal numbers. It is based on human instinct and confirmed by reason and experience; and it is in vain that Northern enthusiasts may rail at it as "senseless prejudice" and "unreasoning antipathy." In doing so they run counter to the opinion of the vast majority of their fellow citizens and thus virtually repudiate that very democracy which they advocate so effusively.

The Southern people have accorded the negro a large measure of civil rights. He enjoys protection of life, limb, and property; he has in the South, perhaps, a greater measure of industrial freedom than elsewhere in this country; and he can obtain at least an elementary education for the asking. But comparative well-being is not necessarily absolute well-being. The most optimistic leaders of the race are unable to overlook the dark side of the negro's civic condition, and at times they give evidence of discouragement. Some of these disheartening aspects of the problem I shall now indicate.

1. The negro does not get equal accommodations with the whites on railway passenger trains, although he pays the same fare. The laws of the Southern States prescribe separate accommodations on trains for whites and blacks, and this principle, inasmuch as it reduces friction between the races, is for the best interests of both. Railways, however, while providing separate accommodations, have not undertaken to make these equal for both races. A short time ago I made a journey which involved travel on local trains over six different railway lines, and on only one of these did I find equal conveniences for white and black. On two trains the whites were furnished with modern vestibuled coaches, while the negro coaches were of the antiquated open-platform pattern, very dingy and much less comfortable than the cars for whites. The rear half of one of these inferior coaches served as a smoking compartment for white men, while in the forward half negro men and women, smokers and non-smokers, were herded together, with a single toilet for all. Another train carried its white passengers in a steel coach and its negro patrons in a coach of wood. When I commented upon this to a gentleman from the West, he remarked: "Well, I guess it costs the road more to kill a white man than a nigger, and so it takes extra precautions for us." On through trains with interstate passengers the accommodations for the two races are more nearly equal, though they are rarely identical.

This unfair treatment of the negro by common carriers is inexcusable. No honest Southerner would countenance a white merchant's selling his negro customers inferior goods at the same price at which he supplied his white patrons with a better article. Yet we allow our railways to do practically the same thing with impunity. Such a policy can only engender bitterness in the negro, and if persisted in it may put in jeopardy the whole principle of racial segregation in interstate travel. The Interstate Commerce Commission has already been appealed to, but without any appreciable result. The most serious discrimination is found on local trains and on branch roads, where negro patronage

is generally greatest. The remedy lies with the several States, and it should be applied as a measure of simple justice.

2. North and South the urban negro population is forced to live in poorly built, unsanitary dwellings, on filthy and neglected streets, and frequently in an atmosphere permeated with vice. Abominable as his housing facilities are, the negro is compelled to pay an exorbitant rent. Southern real estate dealers will tell you that negro shacks and cabins are among the best investments, often yielding from 15 to 20 per cent on their cash value. This, of course, is only true when the landlord exercises due diligence in collecting his rent. The negro accepts such conditions because he wants nothing better. There can be no effective remedy save through the gradual raising of his standard of living.

3. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the division of the school fund the negro is not fairly treated. Politicians have won many votes by advocating that the moneys be divided in proportion to the direct contributions to the treasury by the respective races. They are either ignorant, or else they deliberately blind themselves to a fact that every student of elementary economics fully understands—namely, that the taxpayer is not always the tax-bearer. The white man pays many taxes whose burdens rest upon the black man's shoulders either wholly or in part. Whether the man who hands the money to the tax collector is white or black is a matter of minor importance. That our taxes as at present administered fall most heavily on those least able to pay is everywhere recognized, and from this it must follow that the negro, in proportion to his ability, bears a greater burden from taxation than does the white man. Professor Charles L. Coon, of North Carolina, has demonstrated that the education of the negro is no burden on the white race, at least in the States where statistics are available for determining this question. Forty per cent of the children of school age in eleven States are negroes, and yet they receive only fifteen per cent of the school fund. Only fifty-three per cent of the negro children of school age in the South ever enter a schoolhouse. There is evidence that

in some communities the negro is actually being taxed to support white schools.

A mere policy of enlightened selfishness would cause us to give the black man a better educational opportunity. What will it profit us to spend millions in the uplift of one race if the other be left close by its side in ignorance and vice? Separate schools, like separate coaches, are a necessity; but the fair-minded citizenship of the South should exert itself to see that separation does not produce injustice.

4. Inequalities like those in the administration of the school fund are even more noticeable in the case of such municipal improvements as parks, driveways, and public libraries. A few cities, like Jacksonville, Fla., and Louisville, Ky., provide library facilities for their negro citizens, but generally for these and other civic improvements like those just mentioned the black man must contribute his quota and expect little or nothing in return. North and South, nearly all the special activities for social uplift, such as settlement work, day nurseries, and fresh air funds, seem to overlook the negro, though there are many notable exceptions.

5. Intelligent and highly respectable negroes are sometimes disfranchised for no other reason than that of color. The unfitness of the race for the exercise of the suffrage at the time it was bestowed is now generally admitted. To-day the negro is disfranchised by legal restrictions based on illiteracy, ownership of property, payment of poll tax, good character, good understanding of the constitution, military service, and a voting grandfather. The exclusion of the ignorant and propertyless from the ballot is not to be condemned if impartially enforced; but the good character and good understanding clauses vest too much arbitrary power in the hands of the registration officers, and the "grandfather clause" is a piece of class legislation utterly opposed to American ideals. The only saving feature of this last measure was its temporary nature, but I regret to say that in my own State at the election in November, 1912, the "grandfather clause" was revived by constitu-

tional amendment until September, 1913, and a premium was thus placed on white illiteracy.

There are those who would disfranchise every negro regardless of his fitness for the ballot, and their name is legion. Supported by such sentiment in their communities, registration officers have even gone to the extreme of rejecting negro college graduates while registering the most degraded of white men. The suffrage should be held before the negro as a reward of character. If our present electoral laws are properly enforced, every worthy colored man can have the ballot.

6. The negro is accorded legal, but nevertheless unequal, treatment in our courts of law. It is not that the negro is dealt with unlawfully, but that the punishment of the negro rests on a different basis from that of the white man. It is not that the negro gets more than his legal deserts, but that the white man gets less. This is due partly to racial animosity and partly to the fact that the negro has little money and very few influential friends. The poor and obscure white man in all parts of the country too often suffers in the same way. It is further claimed that a negro lawyer does not have a fair chance before a white jury when the opposing attorney is a white man, and that a negro litigant is discriminated against when his opponent and the jury are both white. Juries are sometimes loath to convict white men on the testimony of negroes, and grand juries likewise have failed to find true bills on such evidence. That the proportion of convictions is greater and the terms of sentence longer for negroes than for whites has been urged by Southern Governors in justification of their extensive use of the pardoning power. Time and again we read in the papers of the execution of "the first white man ever hanged in this county." These facts seem to indicate that the negro experiences the full rigor of the law, while in the case of the white man justice is likely to be over-tempered with mercy.

As a remedy for this condition it has been proposed that negroes should serve on juries to try members of their own race, but those who urge that the law should take no

account of color must find it hard to defend such a proposition with consistency. The average Southerner demurs to this proposal because he has come to believe that there exists a kind of freemasonry among negroes that causes them to shield one another from the consequences of their acts; but in spite of this widespread belief it has been observed that the negro himself sometimes prefers to place his fate in the hands of a white jury.

7. Finally, the negro is too frequently the victim of mob violence. With sorrow must we confess that lynching is the evil *par infamie* of the Southland. In 1912 seventeen States were disgraced by lynching atrocities, and the evil was not confined entirely to our section. Montana, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, and Wyoming each furnished an example. It is no consolation, however, to know that in this respect the Southern States have some company. The most deplorable fact in connection with lynching is the wide hearing given to its defenders. The opponents of such lawlessness, who constitute practically all the enlightened people of the South, have shown a strange timidity in voicing their sentiments, while leather-lunged demagogues, posing as champions of Southern womanhood, have condoned and advocated it from one end of the continent to the other. The only ground upon which they defend lynching is that it furnishes protection to Southern women, but our statistics show that 75 per cent of our lynchings are for crimes other than the one they are supposed to avenge. Happily, the number of lynchings is slowly but surely decreasing. As compared with the black year 1892, when there were 225, the number in 1912 was only sixty-five. Of these, only ten were for what is wrongly called "the usual crime," and two were for attempts to commit that crime. In the first three months of 1913 there were thirteen known lynchings, and not one of these was for a crime against women.

The crime of lynching is undoubtedly the source of more irritation, distrust, and despair on the part of the negro than the sum total of all the other ills to which black flesh is heir. But its degrading effect is even worse upon the

white man who sanctions it and upon him who joins the mob. The former is an anarchist and the latter a murderer. In the face of such prevalence of the mob spirit among the ignorant masses, why have bench and bar, preacher and teacher so long remained silent? When will Southern manhood muster sufficient courage to challenge effectively the sovereignty of the mob?

In considering remedies for these untoward conditions it is easy to say what should be done, but difficult to indicate the way to do it. Our hope lies in further education for white and black, in coöperation between the best elements of both races, in greater publicity for those whose views are rational, and last, but not least, in the development of an infinite amount of patience. Civic progress for the negro is to be secured by educational and economic improvement rather than by political methods. His condition as a citizen will improve with his economic progress; his economic progress is dependent upon an increase of his wants; and an increase of his wants will come with better education. Where the white man is guilty of injustice no merely external reforms will suffice. Such injustice is an outward sign of a lack of inward grace. There must be a reform of men's souls. Better education, higher moral ideals, a general awakening of mind and spirit, the substitution of reason for prejudice and tradition, the socialization of religion—these are the fundamental needs of the hour. Above all, we must realize that as a race we cannot live wholly unto ourselves; that if the black man is sinking we are not rising; that if he is going backward we are not going forward; and finally, that no social regime can long endure that is not founded on justice.

RURAL EDUCATION AND SOCIAL EFFICIENCY

JACKSON DAVIS, STATE SUPERVISOR RURAL ELEMENTARY
SCHOOLS, RICHMOND, VA.

IN March, 1908, in Henrico County, Va., there sat around a table a group of men who had been invited by the County Superintendent of Schools to consider ways of improving the negro schools. A meeting of the negro teachers had just been held, the first meeting called to give them aid and encouragement. Dr. H. B. Frissell, Principal of Hampton Institute, who was among the party, told of some extension work that had been done by Hampton in sending out a young woman to visit the schools of Gloucester County to help the teachers adapt their work to the needs of the children and to the home life of the people. After considerable discussion the conference ended, but there was left a precipitate of definite ideas. One was that a trained negro teacher would be very helpful to the other teachers in visiting their schools and placing more definite plans of work before them. Another was that such a teacher might be secured who would introduce cooking and sewing and in some way help to place the life of the average negro home on a more satisfactory basis in the elemental virtues of good citizenship. The plan to engage such a teacher for the twenty-three negro schools of the county seemed good to the school board, but it was not felt that the county could afford experiments in negro education. The Jeanes Fund for Negro Rural Schools had recently been established and Dr. James H. Dillard was in charge of its administration. The situation was laid before him and he heartily approved the plan and agreed to pay the salary of the supervising industrial teacher.

The county was fortunate in securing for this work Virginia E. Randolph, who had taught a rural school in the county for thirteen years and by her devoted and tireless efforts had transformed the shabby little schoolhouse into a neatly whitewashed two-room building, with attractive

grounds, which served as a school, Sunday school, and center of all good work for the neighborhood. She immediately set to work to visit the negro schools, meeting the people and teachers and asking their coöperation. The people were invited to the schools, improvement leagues were organized, and soon all schools began to take on a different appearance. Simple repairs were made, rooms and windows were regularly washed, stoves were polished, walks laid off, and flowers set out in the yards. Regular periods were set aside for sewing, mat-making, cooking, and various kinds of work suggested by materials at hand.

This was the origin of what Dr. Dillard called the "Henrico Plan" of industrial training and supervision for negro rural schools, and he adopted this method very largely in administering the Jeanes Fund in the Southern States. The supervising industrial teacher is appointed by the County Superintendent and works under his direction in as many of the rural schools as may be reached. The work thus inaugurated has steadily grown both in effectiveness and extent. It was carried on in one hundred and nineteen counties in the various Southern States last year by aid of the Jeanes Fund in coöperation with county superintendents and school boards. In Virginia there were last year seventeen supervising teachers working in eighteen counties. Five new counties have taken it up this year, one county paying half the salary of the industrial teacher and another county paying the whole salary from local funds. Almost every county makes provision for the traveling expenses of the teacher.

A brief summary of the work in these Virginia counties shows the following results: In the eighteen counties there were 469 negro schools and 299 of these were visited regularly by the 17 supervisors. The length of term ranged from five to nine months, but an average of six months was maintained by reason of the fact that 121 schools with a short term extended the term for one month. Nine new buildings were erected and twelve enlarged at a combined cost of \$6,268.15, which does not include labor and materials given. Twelve schools were painted, 69 whitewashed, 37 sanitary outhouses were built, and 102 schools used individual drinking cups. Three hundred and forty-eight im-

provement leagues were organized, and they raised in cash for school improvement \$13,744.16.

The entire cost of supervision in these counties was less than \$7,000, so that these teachers brought into the school funds twice the cost of their salaries and expenses. Nearly every school that was built or enlarged was the result of the efforts of the improvement leagues coöperating with the local school boards, which have dealt more liberally with the negro schools since the negroes have shown such a disposition to help themselves.

But these figures, as illuminating as they are, do not tell all the story. Back of this record of progress there is a new spirit of self-help, a new interest in the home, the farm, and the country neighborhood, and it marks the beginning of a coöperative movement for improvement in other ways. The teaching has been stronger, the attendance has increased, and the work of the schools has been more practical than ever before.

Superintendent Coggins writes of the work in Charles City County as follows:

With reference to the work in Charles City, I can say that the County School Board in its last meeting said that the results were such that they could not think of giving it up. All the men are very much pleased and are heartily supporting it.

I can see here a new interest in home life and an effort is being generally made to make home more comfortable and beautiful. Cleanliness and politeness with industry have been emphasized with good results. A new spirit is seen among the teachers and a more earnest effort is being made to make their work mean something to the community in which they teach. The work as it is being done here is encouraging to the entire citizenship.

In most of the counties at the close of the term an exhibit is held of the industrial work done in the schools. The exhibit is usually held at the county seat or at the business center of the county. An attractive program is provided, reports of improvements at the various schools are made, and simple prizes awarded. These exhibits have been of great importance in popularizing this type of education, in encouraging the negro children, and in demonstrating to the white citizens the usefulness of this training.

The introduction of industrial work into the negro schools has not always been easy. Many of the parents object to their children doing anything at school but study and recite from books. In many cases the preacher has publicly opposed it, but more often he has joined with the supervising teacher in her efforts for the schools. In one county after the teacher began work this issue was raised, and the preacher took up the cause and urged the people to contribute funds for better schoolhouses and for equipment and material for industrial work. In his exhortation he was attacked by members of his congregation who differed from him. The issue got into the local papers and became so warm that a vote was taken asking the preacher to resign. By this time, however, the white people realized the situation and the courage of the preacher, and they with his faithful followers prevailed on the congregation to withdraw their action. To-day this preacher is a real leader in the county, with the confidence of all classes. The colored schools have made great improvement in all departments and the industrial classes are doing regular and effective work.

In other communities the opposition lasts longer. Recently I visited a school where the teacher is unable to have any regular day or period for industrial work, because if the parents know of it they will keep their children at home on these days. In another county the teacher was speaking to a public meeting in a schoolhouse at night. In the course of her remarks she condemned the common dances and festivals which nearly always resulted in drinking and a cutting or shooting affray, and urged amusements of a different kind. This so enraged some of the young people that from the darkness outside a bottle of ink was thrown through the window at the teacher and its contents emptied on her dress. The court records show that nearly all of the negroes in the penitentiary or jail from that county were there as a result of a cutting or shooting affray at these disorderly gatherings. Examples could be multiplied to show the courage and devotion of the supervising and industrial teachers in their contact with the ignorant masses of their race.

One of the most interesting developments of the work is the coöperation of the supervising industrial teacher with the farm demonstration agent in working during the summer months with clubs of girls in raising home gardens and canning the vegetables and fruits for winter use. At the close of the school term they organize girls' home garden clubs, visit the girls in their homes, and meet them in groups, giving them practical instructions for their gardens and teaching cooking and sewing lessons in the homes. In many ways the summer work of these teachers has proved of even greater value than their work with the schools, for they are touching directly the homes of the people and bringing about improvements there that are having a far-reaching effect. In the summer of 1911 this work was started in four counties. The gardens were cultivated with varying success, and in all the girls put up under the direction of the teachers about 1,000 glass jars of vegetables. The tabulated statement shows that some of the work accomplished in eight counties during the summer of 1912 was as follows: 267 girls in garden clubs, 202 gardens planted, 3,946 jars canned by girls and 6,006 by mothers.

A page from the report of one of the teachers indicates the character of the work:

During the month have put up 603 quarts of fruit and 68 quarts of vegetables. Total, 671. Have dried 12 pounds of apples.

During the season 769 quarts of fruit have been put up and 68 quarts of vegetables. Total, 837 quarts. The late bean and tomato crops are yet to be canned.

Two of the club girls, aged 11 and 14, made all the yeast and bread for their respective families. Another girl, aged 12 years, but who is not strong enough to make bread for her very large family, supplies her own and her next neighbor's family with yeast.

In most homes the club girls are doing the entire canning for the family and some for outsiders.

The girls learned to do those things in our summer clubs. Their mothers are very much pleased to be thus relieved of these duties. Our clubs are never at a loss for place for next meeting. Invitations usually come two and three weeks ahead.

In the summer of 1912 I took a trip through Chesterfield County, revisiting some of the same homes that I saw on a similar trip the previous year when the work was started.

Most of the homes are on small plots varying from five to twenty-five acres, and are neither painted nor whitewashed. The men work out on so-called public works or as farm hands. With poor dwellings to start with and a handicap of poverty, any improvements will necessarily be slow. The first year many of the gardens were allowed to grow up in weeds, or were destroyed by chickens or cows. In other words, the gardens were about as shiftless as the homes. All the gardens were very much better cultivated the second year and I did not see a single one that had been neglected. The chickens were either kept out by a good fence, or the garden was put far enough from the house not to be bothered by them. Practically every girl has a garden for the late fall. Over 1,700 jars of vegetables were put up, about six times as many as were put up in the whole season the first year.

I saw several homes that were rebuilt or enlarged, but as yet little or no whitewashing has been done. At one home that we visited the girl was absent, but her mother showed us a long row of jars of fruit and vegetables which she had put up, and then brought out some dried apples which she had also put up under the teacher's directions. Then she brought out some that she herself had dried in the traditional way. Her daughter's work was in every way superior, and she said that she was going to use the new method in the future.

A few days later I took a similar trip through Charles City County with the county superintendent and the industrial teacher. The negroes in Charles City are more prosperous than in Chesterfield, and the homes that we visited were on average small farms. I was struck by the fact that practically every home was neatly whitewashed, together with many of the fences and outbuildings, and that everything about the homes seemed to be in good repair. Superintendent Coggin told me that this had been very largely brought about by the teacher in the two years in which she had been working in the county. He said that negro homes of this type used to be the exception, but that now they were the rule in Charles City County. We found back yards and back porches thoroughly clean. The gardens were

mostly well fenced and cultivated. The teacher's services were very much in demand by the older people who wanted to learn better ways of canning.

At one home that we visited a widow and several children were living. The father had recently died of tuberculosis. During his sickness the teacher had visited the home and shown the mother the necessary precautions to take in order to prevent the infection of the rest of the family. By her help all the sanitary measures were carried out and the other members of the family are saved from the disease.

Our trip ended at the negro cemetery, where there was a gathering to clean it up. It needed it, but the gathering was an example of neighborhood coöperation expressive of a general desire to clean up things and make the county a better place to live in as well as to die in.

These two trips convinced me of the distinct improvement over the work of the first year. It is impossible to estimate the helpfulness of the visits of these teachers to the homes of the negroes, or to value their influence on the girls who belong to the garden clubs. The girls and some of the mothers are getting a kind of education that is having a marked effect upon their homes. It meant a great deal for the teacher to get the girls and their parents in Chesterfield to take the home garden seriously—to put it where the chickens would not destroy it, or put a good fence around it, then to cultivate it approximately near to exact directions. The good results have demonstrated that it pays to take care of the garden, and in learning to do this they are learning to put more thought and skill into what has been household drudgery, but what may become household art.

I have never seen more grateful appreciation than was shown to these teachers in the homes which they have helped, except possibly that shown by the negro farmer to the demonstrator who has helped him to double his corn crop.

It will be seen that some of the teachers during the summer do much of their work with the women in their counties. The following letter has come into my hands from the

Women's Home Improvement Club, which was organized by the teacher in Gloucester County. It shows both the character of the work which has been done and the interest which they have put into it:

In early spring Mrs. Isabella Smith called us together and spoke of the many things we as housekeepers might accomplish toward improving our homes, if we would organize as a club and start to work. The first suggestion was to look to the canning of vegetables and fruits. As an outcome we can safely say that more berries, vegetables, and fruits have been canned and more dried than ever before in this community.

A new inspiration has gone out from one housekeeper to another, and one seems to be vieing with the other as to who will have the greatest number to report. Now that the canning season is fairly over, we are turning our attention to handicrafts. Some have started doormats, some table mats, and some picture frames. We find a great deal of pleasure in our work and feel it a blessing to have one in our midst who is capable of instructing us in so many ways.

We ask an interest in your prayers that much success may attend our efforts. We take God as our great leader.

Done by order of the W. H. I. Club.

THE WORK OF THE JEANES AND SLATER FUNDS

PROFESSOR B. C. CALDWELL, NATCHITOCHES, LA.

THESE organizations have the same purpose, the training of the negro youth in the Southern States. And they have the same director, the president of the Jeanes Fund being also the director of the Slater Fund, and the same offices in New York and New Orleans. They have separate, though overlapping, boards of trustees.

The Jeanes work is confined to the rural schools, and is almost entirely industrial. Most of the Slater revenue is spent for secondary and higher education, mostly normal and academic, partly vocational and industrial.

The Jeanes work, now in its fifth year, entered a new field. From the start it aimed to reach the "school in the background," the remote country school for negro children,

out of sight back in the sticks, down the bayou, up in the piny woods, along the sea marsh, or out in the gullied wilderness of abandoned plantations. Nearly all these schools were taught in shabby buildings, mostly old churches; some in cabins and country stores, a few in deserted dwellings. I have seen one in Alabama taught in a sawmill shed, one in Arkansas in a dry kiln, one in Georgia in a peach-packing shed, one in Louisiana in a stranded flatboat, and one in Texas in a sheepfold.

For the most part these schools were taught by untrained teachers, without any sort of supervision. The equipment was meager, the pay smaller, and the term short. The Jeanes Fund undertook to send trained industrial teachers into this field, to help the people improve the physical conditions, and the teachers to better the instruction given.

The teachers employed in this work are trained in some kind of industrial work, domestic or vocational. Most of them teach sewing, next in number are those who teach cooking, some are graduate nurses, some truck gardeners, some laundresses, some basketmakers, some farmers and dairymen. And blacksmithing, carpentry, shoemaking, mattress-making, baking, and farming are in the list of industries taught by these teachers.

For the current year there are 120 Jeanes teachers at work in 120 counties of eleven Southern States, Maryland to Texas. Each teacher visits a number of the country schools, gives a lesson in some industry, plans with the regular teacher to give succeeding lessons in her absence, organizes parents' clubs, starts a movement for better school equipment or a longer term, counsels the local teacher about her daily training, and stirs the community to united effort to better the school.

Although paid by the Jeanes Fund, these teachers are named by the County Superintendent and are members of his teaching corps just like the other teachers, and work under his direction. In many counties this spring the industrial teacher gathered specimens of sewing, baking, basketry, chair-caning, mattresses, garden truck, carpentry, and furniture from all the schools of the county, and held

exhibits at courthouses, superintendents' offices, or other central points. Great numbers of school officials, white and colored school patrons, and teachers visited the exhibits.

The industrial teachers are graduates of Hampton, Tuskegee, Petersburg, Pratt Institute, Cheney, Fisk, Atlanta, and kindred schools. All of them are negroes. Their salaries range from \$40 to \$75, and their terms from six to nine months a year.

At the outset the entire expense of this industrial work was borne by the Jeanes Fund. After a year or two the county school boards began contributing, sometimes paying the traveling expenses of the teacher, sometimes buying sewing machines, ranges, washtubs, sometimes renting plots of ground for farm and garden work. Last year one or two counties took over the entire expense of the work, and fifteen or twenty undertook to pay half or part of the teacher's salary.

The Slater Fund from the beginning has devoted most of its means to the higher education of negro youth, mainly with the purpose of training teachers for the primary schools. But almost from the start it has contributed to public school work in town and city, with the same general end in view, devoting its entire contribution to these schools to the establishment of industrial training in public schools.

At this time more than three-fourths of the Slater money is still applied to higher and urban school work. But for two or three years past it has been experimenting with some new and promising work in the country.

Four years ago a parish superintendent in Louisiana applied to the Slater Fund for assistance in establishing a county high school for negro children. Almost at the same time a county superintendent in Arkansas, one in Virginia, and one in Mississippi proposed substantially the same thing. It was the purpose in each case to train teachers for the schools of the county.

Trained teachers cannot be had for the meager salary paid country negro teachers. And each of these superintendents hoped to get a regular and fairly good supply of teachers trained to do the work needed in that county.

Supt. A. C. Lewis, of Tangipahoa Parish, La., was the first to undertake to establish such a school. He named it the Parish Training School for Colored Children, and located it at Kentwood, a little village in the piny woods part of the parish. The parish school board furnished the teachers and equipment, the Brooks-Scanlon Lumber Co. furnished the house and ten acres of land, and the Slater Fund agreed to give \$500 a year for three years. The school is now in its second year, and promises to render valuable service to the parish.

Three similar schools have since been established: one in Newton County, Miss., in which the county, the town of Newton, and an organization of colored people contributed, and the Slater Fund pledged \$500 for three years; at Hope, Ark., a town school supported by State and local funds, was converted into a central training school (not county, because there is no county school body), and the funds were raised by the town, the local cotton men, and the white and colored citizens individually, with the same Slater contribution; and in Sabine Parish, La., a large community school seven miles in the country was made the parish training school, with parish authority and support, and liberal contributions of the timber interests owning land all around the school, with the same Slater contribution of \$500 a year.

There are no precedents to follow in this work. Every county in the South has felt the need of fairly well trained teachers in its negro rural schools. But so far as we know this is the first time that superintendents have deliberately planned to get them by training them at home.

Each county will have to feel its way toward the end in view. All of them are making the training schools distinctly industrial and agricultural all the way through the course offered; and some are already giving class work and handcraft of real merit. It will take several years to work out the plan; and local school authorities will give their individual stamp to it. But thus far it looks good, and the end in view goes to the very heart of the whole business of negro public schools.

I need not speak of the well-known schools, Hampton, Tuskegee, and Fisk, to which the larger part of the Slater money is devoted. But in two of these and in several State normal schools the Slater Fund contributes to the maintenance of summer schools for teachers, offering good training, academic and industrial, to country teachers.

Both Jeanes and Slater Funds do a little in the way of helping to build schoolhouses. In several counties of Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama the Jeanes Fund is assisting to build one good negro school as a sample. The Slater Fund contributes to the same kind of work in a limited way, and also to equipment of town and city schools for vocational work. The magnificent new building for negro children above the fifth grade, built by the City of Charleston, S. C., was furnished with superior equipment for all kinds of hand and power work by the Slater Fund.

THE NEED AND VALUE OF INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION FOR NEGROES

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WE are living in a stirring age, an age that calls us all as individuals and as a nation to rouse ourselves to meet the growing demands and problems of our rapidly changing and complicated civilization. All through the activities of our modern life, in art, industry, science, politics, education, and religion, we feel the restless change, and are beginning to realize that old traditions, old methods of education, old habits of thought and action are inadequate to grapple with the new problems.

The call of this Southern Sociological Congress is a recognition of this fact and a ringing challenge to the South to know and meet the needs of the hour. In this "crusade for social health and righteousness" every patriot should enlist.

In his book, "The Worker and the State," Mr. Arthur Dean recalls that familiar story in "Through the Looking Glass," where Alice and the Queen are running hand in hand, while the Queen continually cries, "Faster, faster!" When Alice is allowed to rest under a tree for a while she looks around and remarks: "Why, I do believe we have been under this tree the whole time. Everything is just as it was!" "Of course it is," replies the Queen. "What would you have it?" Still panting a little, Alice replies: "Well, in our country you generally get somewhere else, if you run very fast for a long time as we have been doing." "A slow sort of a country," says the Queen. "Now, here, you see, it takes all the running you can do to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run twice as fast."

We, too, seem to be living in the Queen's country, for if we are to make real progress we begin to realize that we must run twice as fast. This is especially true in our educational system, which is proving unequal to the great task of preparing the youth of our country for efficient and helpful citizenship in our modern America.

The solution of the immigration problem, the race problem, the economic and industrial problems depends largely on what kind of citizens our schools are turning out.

Hugo Munsterberg says: "The United States spends annually five hundred million dollars more on fighting existing crime than on all its works of charity, education, and religion," and "the feeling is growing that a fraction of the money and energy expended would be ample to prevent much of this habitual crime from coming into existence at all." Gillette urges a reorganization of our educational system so that no one should be allowed to go out of school until he has been trained for citizenship and given a vocation. He accounts for the fact that nine out of every ten children in the United States are leaving school before finishing the elementary grades as due to the lack of interest on the part of the children, and to the feeling of both parents and children that the school is doing little to prepare them for their work in life.

Shiftlessness, crime, and pauperism come from lack of definite training. What are our schools doing to prevent these evils? What is our race problem but the problem of fitting a backward people to lead useful, industrious, and moral lives in the communities where they live? Are our schools giving that kind of a training that leads to industry, skill, and strong moral character?

In his interesting book on vocational education, John W. Gillette gives a chart showing the vocational groups in the United States census for 1900. Of the 30,000,000 workers, the smallest group, about one and a half million, are in professional service, and it is largely for this group that our public school system is planned. The elementary schools are preparatory schools for the high schools and they in turn prepare for the college and university, while the great mass of workers go out into life without any definite training for their duties. One-third of the workers are agriculturists, and how much practical work in agriculture are our rural schools giving? There are 25,000,000 home-makers and home-keepers. What practical preparation for this work do our girls get in the ordinary public schools?

It was through industrial training that Samuel Chapman Armstrong, that far-sighted educator and pioneer in industrial education, believed the negro race would find its place in our civilization. The need of industrial training for the great body of workers of both races is recognized by most educators of to-day. This does not mean that there is no need for the so-called "higher education" for negroes who go into professional life. The ten million negroes in this country must have their efficiently trained doctors, lawyers, teachers, and business men, but at the foundation of all education for the race there should be the all-round industrial training. In our elementary schools we must add the three H's, the training of the head, hand, and heart, to the traditional three R's. "Labor," says Armstrong, "next to the grace of God in the heart, is the greatest promoter of morality, the greatest power for civilization."

The value of this training is shown in the efficient service which the graduates of industrial schools have given to the communities in which they live. Dr. Booker Washington says: "Not a single graduate of the Hampton Institute nor of the Tuskegee Institute can be found to-day in any jail or State penitentiary. After making careful inquiry, I cannot find a half dozen men or women who have completed a full course of education in any of our reputable institutions, like Hampton, Tuskegee, Fisk, or Atlanta, who are in prisons. The records of the South show that 90 per cent of the colored people in prisons are without knowledge of trades, and 61 per cent are illiterate. This statement alone disproves the assertion that the negro grows in crime as education increases. If the negro at the North is more criminal than his brother at the South, it is because of the employment which the South gives him and the North denies him. It is not the educated negro who has been guilty of or even charged with crime in the South; it is, as a rule, the one who has a mere smattering of education or is in total ignorance."

The success of such schools as Hampton in developing character, skill, and industry has been so great that educators from abroad are coming over to study the work of these schools, and missionaries are carrying Hampton ideals and methods to their schools in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

There are smaller schools which are giving industrial training for negroes all through the South. They have received their impulse from Hampton and Tuskegee, many of them being taught by graduates of these schools, but are adapting the industrial work to the needs of their own communities.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate the results of this kind of training is to take one of these schools as a concrete example. May I tell briefly how Penn School is attempting to meet the needs of St. Helena Island? This is one of the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina, with a population of over 6,000 negroes and about 50 white people.

When industrial education was introduced at Penn School about eight years ago, our first work was to study

conditions on the Island. We found a farming community. The people are gentle, orderly, and self-respecting. Most of them own farms of from five to twenty-five acres, although some of the farms are larger. They were struggling, as so many other communities in the South are struggling, under the "one-crop" system, with all its accompanying evils. The whole family, from the baby just beginning to toddle, to the grandparents crippled by old age, devoted all their time and energy to growing the long-staple cotton, which is a very exacting crop. As a result, instead of growing the food needed for the family and live stock, that was bought at the store of the cotton merchants. The merchants fed them during the winter and took in their cotton when it was gathered. Fortunately for St. Helena, the head of the firm was a just and generous friend to the negro and tried to protect the farmers, when they were too ignorant to protect themselves, from the evils of the credit system. But this system at its best means poverty, poor food, poor homes, poor morals, and poor health. In a region which was fair and fertile the people were making a bare living through ignorance of scientific farming and business methods. Naturally there was little to attract the young people to such a life of drudgery, and they were drifting to the cities.

This is a picture not only of St. Helena, but of many rural communities in the South, although in many respects the negroes of St. Helena had an advantage over other communities in the paternal care of Mr. Macdonald, the head of the firm, and in the Christian influence of the two white ladies, founders of Penn School, who for over forty years devoted their lives to the service of the people of the Island. The result of their work for temperance and in the Sunday school and Churches, as well as the public schools, is noticeable when comparing conditions at St. Helena and the surrounding islands.

But conditions were changing on the Island. The head of the firm retired from business. Other firms came in and competition began. The ignorance of the people was their great danger! The work for Penn School to do was

very plain. The farmers must be taught better farming methods so that they can make more crops and build better homes. We cannot hope for pure morals and happy home life when a large family of eight or ten people are living in two or three rooms. We cannot expect good health for a people poorly fed with very little variety in their daily ration of hominy and pork.

When Penn School was reorganized as an industrial and agricultural school, a farm was bought and all its work was centered in that. It is a school built on a farm and it aims to fit the youth of the Sea Islands to live happy, useful lives on the farm. Training in carpentry, cobbling, painting, and the native basketry is given the boys in addition to their work in agriculture, and this year wheelwright and blacksmith shops have been added to the industries for the boys. The girls are taught cooking, sewing, and housekeeping, besides the garden work.

At first it was natural that the parents should object: "But we send our children to learn books, not to work." They were all familiar with the drudgery of farming, and for their children they wanted something better. But the children kept on coming, some of them walking ten to eighteen miles a day to attend Penn School. For, strange to say, in spite of all this time given to industrial work, the children were making faster progress in their book work. They were reading and writing better, thinking and talking more clearly. They were carrying themselves more erectly and gaining in self-control. Their pride in it all was shown in the boastful remark of the little boy: "We have a-plenty of industrials in our school!"

One of the most important results of the training in this industrial school is the growing sense of responsibility among the pupils for the care and protection of the school buildings and property, for the order and discipline of its members, on the school farm and on the road, and for the honor of its name. This spirit of helpfulness and responsibility was largely developed through the organization of a Public Service Committee of six boys and six girls who are elected annually by the school from among the older pupils.

These boys and girls coöperate with the teachers in seeing that the school rules are kept, in keeping order on the playgrounds at recess, and in organizing the play for the younger children. (Strange to say, our children had to be taught to play!) They take charge of the care of the school grounds and supervise the committees which are appointed from each class in turn to put the grounds in order every morning. They are officers of the boys' and girls' companies. They report any fighting or disorder on the road, if they are not successful in stopping it, and stand ready to serve their school in any way they may be called upon by their teachers. The approach of a boy or girl wearing the public service button is often sufficient to stop a quarrel or the beginning of a fight. Each year the duties of this committee widen with the growing sense of responsibility for the welfare and honor of the school public. This year they are undertaking a work of service to the whole island. A great number of trees on this beautiful, wooded island have been recklessly destroyed by chipping, or cut down for fuel. The school, under the leadership of the committee, has organized a tree-planting competition in which the eleven county schools as well as Penn School are invited to join. Any one entering this competition must plant at least three trees—one at school, one on the roadside, and one at home. Prizes are to be awarded at the end of the year to the individual and to the school which plants the greatest number of trees that live.

But while the children are receiving their daily training for useful citizenship, the school is reaching out into the community and touching the homes of the Island through various avenues. The teachers of Penn School, all of them trained negro missionaries, many of them graduates of Hampton, go in and out among the people, visiting the homes, helping in the Churches and Sunday schools, and teaching the children. Even more compelling than their consciously exerted influence is the quiet, unconscious power of their devoted lives of service.

A trained nurse—"Doctor Nurse," the people call her—goes out among the homes, nurses the sick, and gives help

and advice to the mothers in the care of their children and in the prevention of disease.

Each week there is a class for the women of the community. They begged to be allowed to come to school to learn something new. At these meetings questions of hygiene and home-keeping are taken up and matters that affect the welfare of the school and community. The women are also taught to make some useful articles for the home, such as aprons, cornshuck mats, and quilts.

There are parents' meetings at the school for the teachers and parents to get together to better understand each other and the needs of the children. On these Parents' Days the children of a grade prepare a programme for their parents, and in the older classes the girls prepare and serve the lunch.

There is the monthly temperance meeting in which all the public schools take part. It is an interesting sight to see the great hall, which seats nearly a thousand people, filled with the school children of the Island.

An active teachers' association for all the teachers of the Island meets once a month on the school farm. There the problems of the rural teacher are discussed and helpful suggestions exchanged. In connection with this organization a teachers' institute is held during the year which other Beaufort County teachers are invited to attend.

This year the Churches have been holding Penn School meetings, at which the teachers are invited to speak about their work and a collection is taken, which is given to the school.

Perhaps the most important direct influence of this community school is in the work for the farmers. An annual Farmers' Fair and Conference is held on the school farm, when some expert is invited to speak to the people on subjects of vital interest to the farmers of the Sea Island. This year, on account of sickness among the horses, an expert veterinary was invited to speak at the conference and talk with the farmers. The United States Department of Agriculture has sent a forester and farmer for these occasions, and twice that great benefactor of the South,

Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, came to St. Helena to help work out plans for better farming and home life for the people.

The school farmer, Mr. J. E. Blanton, was appointed Demonstration Agent for St. Helena and some of the surrounding islands. Under his instruction, farmers who were growing from 7 to 14 bushels of corn per acre have increased their yield to 50 bushels per acre and in some cases have gone as high as 65 to 69 3-4 bushels per acre. That is a big leap, and means radical changes in the farming situation, for even the most conservative islander is not going to see his neighbor make so much more on the acre without finding out the secret of his success. Three years ago eight doubtful farmers undertook the demonstration work and this year there are over 150 farmers from five islands who come under the direct influence of the school.

This demonstration work and its success have naturally led to awaking the feeling of need of better farming tools, better live stock, and business methods. Last year the St. Helena Coöperative Society was organized with a membership of seventy-five and a committee of management of eight. The rules of the society are adapted from the rules of the coöperative societies of Ireland started by Sir Horace Plunkett. Small loans are made at a low rate of interest for some productive purpose, and through the organization the smaller farmer may get the advantage of the large farmer in buying seed, fertilizer, and farm machinery. All the loans for last year have been repaid with the interest, and the coöperative society is starting out with new confidence in the use of the organization, and in the value of coöperation which is one of the great lessons for the negro race to learn.

All this work is a gradual growth in response to the gradually awakened sense of need for better things in a primitive community where the conservatism of the Islander and the comparatively unexact conditions of soil and climate make it easy for a people to be content with too little. There is no progress where there are no wants. The People's School is the kind of a school that is needed in every rural community. With such schools at the foun-

dation of the development of the negro race there will be no race problem to solve, but the great problem of every patriotic citizen to keep pace in our educational system with the rapidly enlarging demands of our great republic. To use a phrase of President Hibben's, of Princeton University, it is this "schooling for the responsibility of freedom" that will win true freedom for the negro race.

OPEN CHURCH WORK FOR THE NEGRO

REV. JOHN LITTLE, LOUISVILLE, KY.

THE work of the Presbyterian Colored Missions has been an effort on the part of the people of Louisville to give to the negroes of that community industrial training and instruction in religious truth. Its founders had no theory to put into practice, but rather sought to minister to the needs of the people as these needs appeared. In the fifteen years that this work has been carried on it has grown from a small Sunday school with six white teachers and twenty-three colored pupils to two large institutional churches with one thousand and eighty-one colored people attending its clubs, classes, and services which are carried on under the direction of seventy white teachers and instructors in two buildings open seven days in the week.

The first step was to organize a Sunday school where colored children would come for instruction by white teachers. Two colored girls asked for a sewing class, and the teachers at once saw that this was a needed supplement to the Sunday school. The boys, seeing the girls with extra classes, made application, and a class in basketry was organized for them. This later developed into a carpenters' shop. A cooking school was the next addition to the scheduled work, and has proved the most popular part of our force of instruction. Later boys' and girls' clubs were organized, and in them various lines of work have been undertaken for their moral improvement. During the summer months

playgrounds have been operated, and in them hundreds of children have been made healthier and happier. From the first the teachers visited the pupils regularly in their homes. The study of these homes and the condition of the people led us to call to our assistance able physicians and surgeons, and they have proved to be some of our most valuable helpers.

For the past two years no new line of work has been undertaken, but there has been a steady gradual enlargement of each of the departments mentioned, because each year a larger number have sought admission in these clubs and classes.

For twelve years the work was conducted in two dilapidated storerooms which were rented for the purpose. A few years ago the committee in charge purchased two substantial brick buildings, well lighted and well ventilated and in every way suitable for the work. These buildings increased the confidence of the colored people in our desire to help them, and since the purchase of this property the work has increased in the numbers reached and in efficiency of the service rendered.

There has been a remarkable increase in the past few years in the number of our pupils who have received treatment at the hands of our best physicians and surgeons. Literally hundreds who have been suffering with diseases of the eyes have been treated and practically every one cured. Many with defective vision have been fitted with glasses and in most instances the pupils themselves have paid for these glasses. In two instances we found girls in the sewing school who had lost one eye and were unconscious of their loss. The specialists who treated them told us that if their cases had been longer neglected they would have resulted in total blindness. One of these girls to-day stands at the head of our sewing school. A number of wonderful and successful surgical operations have been performed. The result of these operations has not been the physical relief alone, but has also given us new spiritual power. Many who have been treated by the physicians have later united with the Church, and in one or two instances the parents

of children thus treated have also been brought into the Church.

The most remarkable thing in connection with the whole work is the fact that white people of this community have volunteered as teachers. One by one, men and women from Presbyterian and other evangelical Churches in the city have volunteered their services. Our sewing classes and cooking classes are taught by white women who have volunteered to give one afternoon each week. Other men and women volunteered as instructors on Sunday afternoon in the Sunday school. Many of these people rarely see each other, because they come on different days, but their hearts and services are united in their ministry to the needy people. A nobler group than the seventy consecrated men and women who are cheerfully donating their services to this work could not be found in the whole land.

SPECIAL POINTS OF INTEREST

1. It is a local work done according to the ideas of the people of Louisville. Many institutions for negroes have failed to attain the highest standard of usefulness because they have not the indorsement of the community in which they have been established, but are maintained according to the ideas of a board which resides in some distant State. The policy of this work is determined by the teachers, who are residents in Louisville, and it is conducted in such a way as not to offend the white people. The proof that it is reaching the colored people lies in the fact that it has grown from a Sunday school of twenty-three pupils to two large institutional churches reaching one thousand and eighty-one colored people.

2. It is supported largely by money contributed in Louisville. The most perplexing question in regard to the whole work is its financial support. At no period in its history has there been in the treasury a sum sufficient to pay one month's expenses. The Presbyterian Churches in Louisville have from time to time taken collections, but the total amount received from Churches is only a small part of the amount necessary for its maintenance. Most of the money comes

from individuals, and the larger part of it in very small sums. Several individuals contribute five cents a month. Occasionally a gift comes from another State and brings with it an inspiration which is always more valuable than the gift itself.

3. It has been clearly demonstrated that our industrial work, our clubs, and playgrounds have a strong spiritual influence. The first member to come forward to apply for baptism and admission to the Church came from a class in cooking. In this cooking class I saw the sterling character of this girl and saw an opportunity to speak to her of her personal salvation. That night she came forward to unite with the Church. Many children have drifted into the playground and have there become personally acquainted with our teachers and have been led into the Sunday school, into the church services, and later to the foot of the cross. One summer I suggested to a theological student that he direct our playground. He objected, saying that he thought he could do more good by visiting in the homes of the community and reading the Bible and talking to them personally. I said to him then: "Leave the moral responsibility with me and take the playground and use it." At the close of the summer he was frank enough to admit that the playground had given him a wonderful influence over the pupils in the Sunday school, and also when he preached in the church. Most of the boys who have united with the Church have come from our classes in carpentry and our boys' clubs.

What has been done in Louisville could be done in a number of other communities in the South, and I am anxious to see the day when our force of Christian workers will be more zealous in their efforts for the salvation of the negro, who needs our help, our sympathy, and our instruction. In Atlanta a similar work has been organized by the Central Presbyterian Church. They have purchased a suitable building, are conducting a Sunday school and sewing school, boys' and girls' clubs, and last summer conducted a vacation Bible school, where hundreds of colored children were given religious instruction and industrial training. In Richmond,

Va., a student of a theological seminary has organized another similar work. I saw a picture of his Sunday school when it started and another picture six months later. In the meantime he had visited in the homes, had opened a playground, organized boys' and girls' clubs, and a sewing school. May the day soon come when we shall have these institutions established in hundreds of other cities in the South!

RACIAL SELF-RESPECT AND RACIAL ANTAGONISM

C. V. ROMAN, M.A., M.D., NASHVILLE, TENN.

WHAT we need in the South is racial self-respect without racial antagonism.

Some knowledge of the messenger often illuminates the message. I was born and reared among white people. The playmates and associates of my childhood were white. My moral and religious instructions came from the same source. I have received upon a sick bed the kindly ministrations of sympathetic white companions. I have sunk into the death-like sleep of surgical narcosis amid the earnest prayers of Christian white women mingled with those of my mother. I have felt the blessed benediction from the soothing words of a pious minister in the presence of death. I have seen him cheer the last hours of the dying and bind up the wounds of the broken-hearted. So, I *know* that some white people have the true religion of Jesus Christ, who "was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory."

From such experiences I came forth nearly thirty years ago to dwell among my own people. Among the farewells was the benediction of a pious old Scotchman who had been for two years my "philosopher, guide, and friend," and who presciently assured me that I would prosper in the land if I would but trust God and do right. "Remember," said he as the train pulled out of the station, "'He that walketh uprightly walketh surely.'"

In less than a week I was a school-teacher in the backwoods of Kentucky. Within five years I was a practicing physician. I have mingled with my people in Church and society. I have had the advantage of travel and observation, and I know something of mankind in general, as well as my own people in particular—their virtues and their vices, their joys and their sorrows, their hopes and their fears. I love my people and prefer to live among them. I am not ashamed of being a negro.

But this is not all. During my life in the South I have known white men in all the walks of life, and I firmly believe that kindness is very widely distributed, and that the love of justice and fair play is more prevalent than either class prejudice or racial antagonism. Moreover, professional and personal friendships have brought confidences that have revealed skeletons and hearthurts which only the most intimate ever know of each other. I have therefore come to believe that no human heart is so hard as to feel no pain, and none so strong as to need no sympathy.

Misunderstanding, rather than meanness, makes men unjust to each other. Ignorance and prejudice feed upon each other. The ignorant are always prejudiced, and the prejudiced are always ignorant.

If the white people and the black people in this glorious Southland of ours ever understand each other, racial self-respect will safeguard the purlieus of racial integrity, and in matters of common welfare coöperation will displace antagonism.

In the sincere hope of contributing to a mutual understanding between the races this paper was written.

PART ONE—BASIC GENERAL TRUTHS

1. *Man's sole right to preëminence over his animal kinsman is his intellectuality.* The mind makes the man. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." Not his looks, nor his stature, but his *thoughts* make the man. It is not the shape of his head, whether it be dolichocephalic or brachycephalic; it is not the texture of the hair, whether it be ulotrichous or leiotrichous: it is not the facial contour,

whether it be angular and sharp and European, or broad and flat and African; it is not the color of the skin, whether it have the achromatic pallor of the Norwegian or the midnight hue of the sun-kissed Senegambian—no, neither facial angles, nor brain weight, nor set of teeth, nor length of arms, nor arch of foot, nor any other outward physical characteristic is the determining factor in life's complicated equation. As a man *thinks*, not as a man looks, finally fixes his status. Thoughts, not bites, win the battles of life. This is as true phyletically as individually. Racial distinctions are psychical rather than physical. Slav, Saxon, and Latin are far more dissimilar in mental habit than in physical contour. Mental habit rather than physical form differentiated Greece and Rome. Many attempts have been made to classify mankind, but the intellectual division into sensorimotor and ideomotor is the most far-reaching.

2. *Humanity is greater than race.* It is said that Napoleon lost the battle of Waterloo because he misunderstood the topography of the region over which his cavalry had to pass in their charge against the allied armies under Wellington. Ignoring a sunken road precipitated a series of reverses that ended ignominiously the martial career of the first Napoleon and eclipsed forever his star of conquest.

The careers of nations are typified in the careers of individuals. The Saxon is the conquering war lord among nations, and seems destined to rule the world. There is, however, in his path a chasm whose depths and dangers he seems unable to appreciate. It is *color-prejudice*—the effort to substitute *race* for *merit* in measuring men.

Modern civilization will go the way of Sodom and Gomorrah unless justice and fraternity can gain a firmer hold on the hearts and brains of men. No civilization can become world-wide and enduring if a white skin is the indispensable passport to justice and distinction. This would exclude from the fruits of civilization the majority of mankind.

3. *The highest wisdom is to know the truth; the highest virtue is to do the right.* One should have either the brains to lead or the faith to follow. To be willing to live the truth is a greater virtue than to be willing to die for one's

opinions. Martyrdom is at best only a test of fidelity to opinion and not an argument for truth. In the last analysis it may be sheer stubbornness. Man's attitude toward new or unpleasant truth is the greatest tragedy of human life. He not only does not know the truth and does not want to know it, but will resent to the bitter end anybody else's knowing it or talking about it. "This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light."

4. *Justice and liberty are for all or for none. Injustice cannot linger in a land that is really bright with freedom's holy light.* No tyrant was ever free. No man is secure in his rights so long as any man is deprived of his rights. It is easier to be generous than it is to be just. Man's hope of justice has ever been an idle dream and his quest for liberty a fool's errand, because he is not willing to be just nor to meet the conditions of freedom.

5. *Selfishness (mutual benefits) is the only sane basis from which to predicate successful coöperation.* No man is ever going to think more of you than he does of himself. The highest ethical ideal ever lived or preached enjoined that you love your neighbor as yourself. Sane altruism is the highest and truest egoism.

6. *Conduct must be consistent or character will not be sound.* An individual or people cannot long remain both Jekyll and Hyde, for one character or the other will eventually triumph. No one can successfully change his character with his company. A race cannot be persistently unjust and dishonest to another race and be permanently either honest or just to itself. Kindness never degraded any one, nor did rudeness ever vindicate anybody's claims to superiority. A virtuous man is an asset to his community, and a vicious man is a deficit, regardless of racial identity.

PART TWO—PRESENT CONDITIONS

With these basic general truths in mind, let us note some specific facts of racial contact in the South to-day.

1. *There has arisen in the South a type of politician that proposes to make the white people happy by making the*

negroes unhappy. They propose to better the poor white man's condition relatively and negatively by making worse the negroes' condition. They would burke the welfare of their country for power and pelf. Instead of striving to move forward themselves, they are striving to force the negro back. It is a strange and weird delusion that seems to have completely obsessed the majority in some Southern States and opened the door to political preferment. They hope by some political alchemy to put more rights in the Constitution for themselves by taking out any rights the negro may have, or think he has therein.

2. *The races know and believe in the vices of each, but do not know or believe in the virtues of each other.* The average white Christian believes that the negro neither understands nor practices the true principles of Christianity, and the negro knows that the white man so believes. But the negro believes identically the same thing of the white man, and this the white man does *not* know. Yet neither doubts the other's vices. Further, the average negro feels it is impolite to be manly and dangerous to be frank with white people. May it not be possible that each race has given the other more evidence of its vices than it has of its virtues? Each has demonstrated to the full satisfaction of the other its guilt of falsehood, theft, and immorality; but each has failed to impress upon the other its truth, honesty, and virtue.

If the white man has more intelligence, the negro has more secretiveness. Each fails to understand the other. Playing master developed arrogance, while playing slave developed cunning. Neither is a desirable quality in a friend.

3. *A belief that the negro is unable to defend himself often makes white people tyrannical.* A belief that the courts are unfair frequently makes the negro desperate. By magnifying petty offenses, petty criminals are made grave and incorrigible offenders. Thus the seeds of race antagonism and anarchy are sown. The records of the inferior courts of our country will prove painful reading to those who love justice and fair play. Fred Douglass said that as a boy he discovered that the slaves oftenest whipped were

not the ones most deserving punishment, but those most easily whipped. This is largely true of our administration of justice. This fact, rather than race prejudice or negro criminality, explains the frequency with which negro crap games are raided and negro vagrants incarcerated.

4. *Racial contact is now, at the most disadvantageous and dangerous points—*

(1) The vicious and criminal of both races in the saloons, brothels, and gambling dens. (2) The ignorance and poverty of the negro with the wealth of the whites. The servant race gets an exaggerated idea of the wealth and influence of the master race; and the master race gets an exaggerated idea of the vice and ignorance of the servant race. Both confuse race and class. The negro is the greater loser; for a lack of racial ideals is his greatest misfortune. Imitation may be sincere flattery, but it is also an irritating annoyance that will bring down upon the hapless head of the imitator the contempt of the imitated. The attitude of the white man himself is responsible for the negro's lack of race pride.

5. *Any accusation of crime is made with big headlines in the newspapers.* Corrections or retractions are never thus made. The immense power of language is thus used to promote strife. Mobs originate in epithets as often as in crime. The intellectual forces of associated ideas are used to generate race antagonism. This works one of the greatest hardships the negro has to bear, and is the most potent force for evil in the race situation.

6. *The doctrinaire ebullitions of the student often become slogans of war among the ignorant.* Newspaper and platform arguments about "white supremacy" often take the form of cruelty and oppression when interpreted by a street car conductor, a ward policeman, or a workhouse guard. The extent of this oppression, I am sure, is entirely unknown to the majority of white citizens. It is an interesting, if pathetic, study to see an artificial self-consciousness of racial superiority strangle the natural impulses of civilization. The other day I saw a good-looking, modest-appearing, well-dressed, but frail negro woman with a child in her arms attempt to board a street car. She was about

to fail. The conductor started to help her, then looked at the other passengers and desisted. His face was a study. Prejudice won; but it was a Pyrrhic victory. To prove a doctrine he damned a man. There is something wrong with a code of ethics that makes its votaries feel it a humiliation to be kind to any sentient creature, much less a human being, however humble. Chromatopsia may yet wreck the twentieth-century civilization.

The persistent effort to treat all negroes alike retards the healthful growth of class distinction among us and lessens the influence of the intelligent and virtuous over the ignorant and vicious.

7. Business intercourse is hampered and friction needlessly engendered by a racial chauvinism that leads many white people to disregard the ordinary amenities of civilization in their dealings with negroes. This is not in accordance with the ideals of ethics, nor the traditions and conduct of the great men of the South. The sun is not injured by shining upon the lowly, neither is politeness degraded when extended to the humble. No man was ever lowered by kindness. Washington, Jefferson, and Hayne might be summoned to testify.

White clerks object to negro customers and white proprietors object to negro stores.

Interstate travel is a veritable nightmare—nothing to eat, nowhere to sleep, imperfect toilet accommodations, and a change of cars every few hours.

PART THREE—THE REMEDY

1. *Let us accept it as a fact (res adjudicata) that the negro and the white man must survive or perish together in the South.* "God, who is the great Choragus and Master of the scenes of life and death," has placed us on the stage together. Let us play our parts like men, neither crying like children nor fighting like dogs.

2. *Let us encourage interracial coöperation on matters appertaining to the common good.* May not the intelligent and conservative members of both races form a kind of clearing house for the debits and credits of racial contact? A knowledge of a friend's virtues may give us patience with

his vices. Mutual respect is a prerequisite to mutual fair play. The problem can be solved better in detail.

3. *Let us find the facts.* This is no easy task. The races know so much about each other that *is not so*. The average individual "reasons but to err." Bacon describes four kinds of errors or false notions that seduce men's minds from the truth. Race adjustment in the South is hindered by all four forms; but what he calls idols of the market place and idols of the theater are the most troublesome. The first are the loose inaccuracies of ordinary gossip—erroneous opinions that men communicate to each other in social and business intercourse. The second are the systematically taught tenets of false philosophies and unsound political creeds.

4. *If I could get the ear of the genius of the American press, I would ask the following boon for America and the negro:*

(1) Drop from the vocabulary all such words as nigger, darky, Sambo, coon, etc.

(2) Never mention the race of a criminal in connection with criminal news.

(3) Never report the speeches or sayings of race agitators, especially those seeking political preferment or personal prominence.

(4) Publish with full racial credit items creditable to the negro.

Five years of such conduct would see the end of the negro problem in America.

5. *The American negro needs sane, conservative, unselfish, patient, negro leadership.* The greatest help that can be given the race is to assist in the development of these leaders. Wholesome negro ideals must be created by men of negro blood. These ideals may be assisted from without, but cannot be superimposed. Masters may be aliens, but *leaders* must be patriots. Leaders must know the people they lead. A race without leaders of its own blood is lost. No masterpiece was ever written in any language but the mother tongue of the writer; and great leaders are always kindred of the led. Moses was a Jew, Cromwell was an

Englishman, Lincoln was an American, and Booker T. Washington is a negro.

In "The Lady of the Lake" Scott describes a character, Brian, the priest, whose unnamed father met his mother at midnight upon an ancient battlefield, and whose mother

"Locked her secret in her breast,
And died in travail, unconfessed."

Popular superstition gave the unlucky orphan a ghost for a sire. His unhappy fate is thus described:

"Alone among his young compeers,
Was Brian from his infant years;
A moody and heart-broken boy,
Estranged from sympathy and joy,
Bearing each taunt with careless tongue
On his mysterious lineage flung.
Whole nights he spent by moonlight pale,
To wood and stream his hap to wall,
Till, frantic, he as truth received
What of his birth the crowd believed,
And sought, in mist and meteor fire,
To meet and know his Phantom Sire!

In vain, to soothe his wayward fate,
The cloister oped her pitying gate;
In vain, the learning of the age
Unclassed the sable-lettered page:
Even in its treasures he could find
Food for the fever of his mind.

Eager he read whatever tells
Of magic, cabala, and spells,
And every dark pursuit allied
To curious and presumptuous pride;
Till with fired brain and nerves o'erstrung,
And heart with mystic horrors wrung,
Desperate he sought Benharrow's den,
And hid him from the haunts of men."

He became a superstitious fanatic because of the pressure of outside opinion.

This is the negro's position exactly. He has accepted, to his own detriment, the white man's estimate of him. Whole-some public opinion must arise from within, not be superimposed from without. Enthusiastic abolitionists overesti-

mated his *immediate* capabilities as a citizen, and the antagonistic standpatter underestimated his rights as a man. Neither was willing to let him evolve naturally. As a consequence he has frequently disappointed friends by inefficiency and irritated enemies by imitation. *What is the remedy?* Let all the friends of humanity, white and black, bend every energy to increase the negro's self-respect and patience. This will do more to stop the copying of your secret orders than all the injunctions and statutes you can invent. Encourage negroes in the professions and business. It will help everybody. Public opinion is all-powerful in this country—white people make that opinion. Let that opinion back the constructive, conservative workers among the negroes, instead of exploiting "white hopes." Encourage the liberal and sane action of Nashville, Tenn., in employing negro district nurses; of Clarksville, Tenn., and Fort Worth, Tex., in having negro assistant health officers to work among their own people and coöperate with the whites for the general good. See that separate laws are fairly enforced and equal accommodations given.

FINALLY

The effectiveness of opposition to one's progress is in inverse ratio to one's speed. A stone thrown at less than a mile a minute shatters a windowpane against which it strikes; a pistol bullet at forty or fifty miles a minute goes through with little disturbance while light at a rate of twelve million miles a minute passes through with no perceptible disturbance whatever. A candle hurled with sufficient speed will pass uninjured through an oak plank.

Apparently insurmountable opposition often indicates that we have too little momentum; that we are, in fact, moving too slowly. That is what is the matter with the country to-day. It has slackened its pace toward that ideal government which "derives its just powers from the consent of the governed," "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people," under which any individual whatsoever may have "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" unhindered and unhindering.

"The lusts of other things entering in have choked the word;" for the love of money we have "denied the faith and pierced ourselves through with many sorrows," and

"Man's inhumanity to man"

has again postponed the day

"When truth and worth o'er all the earth
Shall bear the gree, and a' that."

"The real solution of the trust question, the race question, and all the great problems of our government to-day is a rededication of the thought of the country to the ideals of justice and fair play."

"If we set our eyes on *justice for all men*, the momentum of righteousness will overcome all obstacles, even the *race question*."

THE TEST OF CIVILIZATION.

MRS. J. D. HAMMOND, AUGUSTA, GA.

THE big things of life are always simple. It is we little people of a day who, in all ages, have distorted the big things, and made them complex, by wresting them piecemeal from their normal relations and judging them from the standpoint of our small personal circumstances.

The way out, in any tangle, is the big, simple way that fits all human life. Nothing is really peculiar, not even our selfishness and provincialism. Human life is one. We can match our greatness and our weakness, our knowledge, our ignorance, our heroisms and our meannesses, wherever men and women live, wherever strength preys upon weakness, wherever love rises into sacrifice or sinks into selfish indulgence.

What is our duty to the negro? What tons of air have been breathed in answering that question, what volumes written, what complex difficulties unearthed! And all the time the plain, straight, simple answer stares us in the face,

the answer that meets all the peculiar conditions that ever were or ever will be, the whole wide world around: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

The old question springs to our lips at once: "Who is my neighbor?" And straight and simple the answer comes: "The man who has no chance, the down and out, the man who *needs*. Thou shalt love him as thyself."

This measure of love is not, as we often imagine, sacrifice; it is justice. Sacrifice is loving our neighbor as Christ loved us—pouring out gifts, and opportunity, and life itself, in his service, stripping ourselves that we may meet his needs. Loving one's neighbor, not more than one's self, but as one's self, belongs to a lower world than that—the eye-for-an-eye, tooth-for-a-tooth world, the world of justice and fair play. It means that we who are strong shall not trample the weak nor take advantage of their helplessness, but shall open to them the door of opportunity and see that they have a chance to enter it—as fair a chance, according to their ability, as we.

Justice and opportunity—those are the fundamental human needs, the necessary basis of human progress, the test of the measure of a nation's civilization. The lack of them is the taproot of all social and industrial problems the world around. What we call the negro problem is the South's fragment of this world-tangle, which we have hitherto viewed as a thing apart, instead of as our share of the task of the human race. Our problem is not racial, but human and economic. The coincidence to so great extent in the South of the poverty line and the color line has confused our thoughts; we hold the negro racially responsible for conditions common to all races on his economic plane.

Races, indeed, are separate and distinct, nor would we of the South have them otherwise. They stand apart like mountains, cleft to their very base; yet are all the mountains one with the earth. Differences go deep, and abide; but likenesses go deeper yet. The earth explains the mountains, and races of men are to be explained only in terms of humanity.

In every race, when the worker's income falls below the nation's standard of healthful living, certain world-wide

uglinesses appear in the worker's life. The longer a family, or a class, lives below this poverty line, this line of want, the more these tendencies develop. Insufficient food and clothing, insanitary shelter, and lack of clean recreation lower the vitality of body and mind, cause what we term laziness, and foster a craving for stimulants and vicious excitement. To this personal depreciation poverty adds housing conditions which force an environment almost, or quite, prohibitive of decency or morality. Thriftlessness, vice, weakened wills, unreliability in every relation of life—to all these this economic class, the world over, is foredoomed at birth. We cannot shift the responsibility for it from the privileged class by saying that such people will not work. It takes both justice and opportunity to lift them to where they can hold their wills at the working point, beyond the satisfying of their purely animal needs.

These needs are insistent; and to satisfy them they follow the line of least resistance, whether it lead to work or to crime. This economic class, the world over, furnishes the great bulk of the world's supply of criminals. It furnishes it here in the South. And because this class is, with us, so largely composed of negroes, we charge their race with those tendencies which the conditions we furnish them supply. Yet what is true here of negroes is true elsewhere, under like conditions, of men of every race and of every color.

Little children are the raw material of human life. You can weave them into a great variety of patterns, into goods of all grades, though you cannot make wool cotton nor cotton wool. In Italy they are trying an experiment with some children of Rome's criminal class—this same class which lives below the line of want. They have renovated some insanitary houses over there, letting in abundant light and air. Only a fair business return on the investment was desired, so the rents are within the reach of this poorest and lowest class. Then some one who cared about helping them was set to do it, making friends with them, showing them how to live, and why. The tenants' health and morals have improved, they are better able to work, more ambitious to do so—a little hope is a wonderful heartener to ambition

—and generally they have improved. This plan has been tried everywhere, except among our poorest in the South; and it works out like a sum in simple addition. Two and two will always make four, whether they are added on white paper or on a black slate. The peculiar thing about this Italian experiment is its method with the children—Rome's foredoomed criminals-to-be.

They are taken very young, before the streets poison them—at two and a half or three years of age. A woman of a higher class, educated, a woman who cares, has oversight of them all day long. They play and they work, indoors and out, with plenty of fresh air and sunshine. They have what children need—red children, yellow children, children white and black: opportunity for normal development. And they have developed in a way that has arrested the attention of the world, these Montessori children, these children of Rome's poorest and criminal class.

I do not say that negro children would respond as well, or that Anglo-Saxon children would. The Romans were a cultured people, leaders of the world's thought, when our Teutonic forefathers wore skins and fought like beasts for their prey. And the negroes were savages much later still. The Roman slum children have a longer inheritance than ours. But humanity is humanity, and the thing is worth trying on white Americans and black ones, too. Justice and opportunity are really the two sides of the one shield: justice necessitates opportunity.

What happens to our little negroes? The parents of some of them have had opportunity. Some of them have wise care and a fair chance. Not very many of them, as compared with the whole race; but more than enough to refute the doctrine that the negroes are incapable of fine things.

Many negro parents were denied in their childhood those opportunities for normal growth which are childhood's right the world over; they can pass on little but their own ignorance and inefficiency. Their children grow up in the street, a filthy street too often. If our part of town is clean, we are not very particular about the "darkies." They are dirty, anyway. Undoubtedly. And we too would be

dirty if we had to go down the street for water—a dozen families to one hydrant or one foul old well—and “tote” every drop for family use in a lard bucket or an old tin pan. Anyway, our little “darky” grows up in dirt—dirt that the city ought, by law, to remove, and dirt that the city ought, by enforcement of law, to prevent the negroes from casting into the street. He gets used to dead cats and dogs in the alley, and to decaying garbage, and to unspeakable filth, moral and physical, in the outhouses allowed in the negro quarters of perfectly respectable cities. The white man’s vice district is cheek by jowl with his home. White men, tolerated, if not encouraged, by the police, teach him contempt for law, while they make money selling negroes liquor. For negroes, as we all know, are a drunken set. But it is the white man who manufactures what makes him drunk, makes money off his drunkenness, and tempts his children to drink: all for money, all in defiance of law, all under the protection of the authorities. So our little “darky” has scant respect for law: he gets that from the white man. Scant respect for virtue, too, brought up in the white man’s vice district. He is robbed of his human birthright—the child’s opportunity to know decency—before he learns that such a thing exists.

Some day he gets drunk and flourishes a razor. Or perhaps he commits a deadlier crime: he steals something from a white man.

A few weeks ago at a certain railroad station I saw a scared-looking negro boy of eighteen arrested by three or four big policemen. A great crowd gathered, while they waited for the “Black Maria,” and stared at the cowering boy. After he had gone a policeman told me he had stolen a box of cigars.

“What will they do to him?” I asked.

“O, he’ll get about fifteen years,” he said carelessly.

I exclaimed in horror.

He considered. “Well, maybe not. He’s young. Like enough he’ll get off with ten.”

And come out a finished criminal, to prey on the society which preyed on him! He stole a box of cigars. We stole his birthright. Let God judge between us.

Isn't it cheaper to give him a chance—just cheaper, in dollars and cents? Long ago an old English bishop said of the children in London's slums that they were not born into the world, but damned into it. It is an old trick of the privileged classes—this allowing children to be damned into the world. Damnation is not particular about the color line; it is as swift for black as for white.

Our duty to the negro is as clear as day. It is the duty of strength to weakness, the world around; of knowledge to ignorance; of the privileged to those shut out; the plain, simple, human duty that cuts through prejudice and sophistry as a sword cuts threads. We must give him justice and opportunity; and we have not given them yet.

I cannot think it is wickedness in us. I thought it was wickedness in England, years ago, when the whole country shrank in angry horror, not from hideous injustice, but from the man who dared to tell that it was done. That Stead should be in jail seemed to me the personal disgrace of every free Englishman. I thought the North was wicked, to a man, when as a young girl I first learned about the children in the sweatshops. They were rich up there, they claimed to love justice, they had power, and they knew. Yet nothing was done. I thought they were all hypocrites.

But I have come to understand. We are all like children, and, like children, we see only in part. Like children, we have our times of sudden growth, our periods of long quiescence. One world after another opens to children: First, the world of sense; then, more slowly, the world of mind; last, and most slowly, the world of spirit. Children, and men, and races of men, we grow that way.

The foremost races at last approach, as races, the world of spirit. Vision is coming to just-opening eyes: a vision of human oneness, of human brotherhood, of world-wide obligation. We could not see it before; we knew not what we did. All the old foundations of human life are being tested, that only the unshakable may remain. Justice and opportunity for all—that is the new world-cry. Our ears, too, are catching it. Its answer stirs deeper in our souls. Some new thing in us years for it for those who have it not.

I would not minify the difficulties of its achievement. Things worth doing always cost; and neglect piles up debts with compound interest. But in all men, everywhere, there is a spark of that fire of God which can flame into such a passion for humanity that it does count the cost. It is the light that leads the race; and it will burn for us of the South. We are not a people to count the cost; our glorious past proves it. The life of the race is our life; we too can take the world-wide look. We too can so build our foundations in justice that every black man may know the sure shelter of the law, and the poorest children grow up in decent homes, cared for, taught life's lessons in clean play, sheltered from the contamination of our vice districts, trained to do honest work and willing to give it, because they are sure of honest work's reward.

As a people of a section we may well be helpless, struggling blindly with disjointed circumstances. As part of all humanity we share the race-task: to widen the bounds of justice, to open the doors of opportunity for all, to blend our small lives with that great Power which makes for righteousness for all the races of men.

THE WHITE MAN'S TASK IN THE UPLIFT OF THE NEGRO

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PERSONAL words are not quite in place on such occasions as this. But, owing to the nature of my subject, dealing as it does with the relation of the races, you will cheerfully indulge me, I think, in a word or two of a personal nature. I speak as a Southern man to Southern men. I was born and reared in the South, my father belonged to a South Carolina slaveholding family. While I myself was born and reared in Arkansas and was not in constant association with

the negroes during my childhood, I have nevertheless been constantly thrown with the race for nearly thirty years. In addition, I have inherited that genuine love for the negro that was cherished in the bosom of the better class of white people of the South in the olden days. I speak, therefore, in full sympathy and genuine affection for the negroes. I have visited their religious associations and conventions in almost every State in the South. I have never missed an opportunity, in season or out of season, to speak a word of hope and cheer to the race or in behalf of the race. From my own point of view, therefore, I feel quite untrammelled in speaking of the white man's task in the uplift of the race. I feel equally free as far as your attitude is concerned, for you come as the representatives of the best element of the white people of the South. Before the war there were three classes of people in the South: the first-class white folks (most of whom owned slaves), the negroes, and the "po' white trash" (as the negroes were accustomed to call the less frugal element among the whites). Whenever you hear any white man of Southern ancestry abusing the negro, you may know that he comes from the latter element. All the first-class white folk have a genuine love for the negro. Recognizing you as belonging to this class, and knowing your sentiments, I feel that I may speak with the greatest freedom.

As expressing most fully my own feelings, I give this incident. About the same time my father moved from South Carolina to Arkansas, which was just before the war, a greatuncle of mine, Col. Wilson Barton, together with other members of the family, moved from South Carolina to Williamson County, Tex. They carried with them some of the old family servants. A few years ago I was holding evangelistic meetings at Liberty Hill, Williamson County, Tex., and those colored friends were much interested in my visit, coming from far and near to see me and talk with me. As you know, even to this good day, the crown prince of a negro's heart is his young "master" who is a preacher. One day I was taking dinner with a cousin in the country. One of these descendants, a good-natured negro woman of ample proportions, was assisting my cousin about the kitchen and

dining room. After dinner she asked me to take a seat on the porch near the kitchen door so that as she passed in and out doing her work she could talk with me. Some of the children of the family observed the situation and twitted me sharply about my sitting out there and talking to the cook. The good-natured black woman shook her ample sides with laughter and said: "Lor', yes, honey, cose he is, cose he is. Don't you know us Bartons is all kinfolks anyhow?" That expressed her feeling and expresses mine. I have a feeling of kinship for the negro that is nigh to the ties of blood. As far back as I can remember my child heart glowed with enthusiasm and joy as I heard my father tell of Jerry and York, of how many chestnut rails they could cut and split in a day, and of what mighty tasks they could do. They were his heroes; they are mine. I love their names, their memories. So I come to-day to speak to you, feeling that we, the first-class white folks of the South, and our negro neighbors and friends, descendants, for the most part, of our old family servants, are bound together not only by the indissoluble industrial, commercial, and civic bonds of the present day, but by many of the tenderest and sweetest memories of the past. We may therefore deal in the utmost frankness with every phase of the relation of the races.

THE WHITE MAN'S TASK IN THE UPLIFT OF THE NEGRO

And so we have come to regard it as a task! A task is a definite portion of work assigned one by authority, enjoined upon one as an obligation by the circumstances, or voluntarily assumed. Our work in the uplift of the negro race is a task certainly from the first and second points of view. The pity of it is that we have not hitherto been more ready to recognize and assume the task. The joy of it is that we are coming now to recognize our task and are setting our hands to its performance. This fact has many demonstrations, not the least of which are the plans and work of this Congress. We recognize frankly that the performance of the task is beset by many, even almost innumerable and insuperable, difficulties, but we do not shrink from our task because it seems difficult.

We shall be able to undertake this task, as we undertake all tasks, with the greater zest and enthusiasm if there seems to be good hope of its accomplishment. With all its difficulties, is the present task hopeful? Has the negro made any advancement? Has he received any uplift? Is he capable of further and greater uplift? These are questions that will inevitably confront the thoughtful student of conditions as he approaches, with timidity or boldness, the task which has been set for us both by Providence and by circumstances, and which we are now beginning voluntarily to recognize and assume.

I desire to bring you a heart message, an exhortation, rather than to weary you with statistics. I appeal to the general aspects of the case rather than to specific data. I appeal to your hearts more than to your sense of arithmetic. Not that there are no figures. There are figures in abundance. Rev. Dr. B. F. Riley in his recent sane and strong book, "The White Man's Burden," makes this gratifying showing concerning the progress of the race. He says that there are 32,000 youths of the negro race engaged in the acquirement of trades and valuable occupations; 300,000 farms purchased and owned by negroes; 50 or more banks established and maintained by negro capital; 10,000 places of business in the cities of our country; \$600,000,000 worth of taxable property in possession of negro owners; 28,000 public schools manned by 30,000 negro teachers; 170 industrial schools and colleges conducted by negroes; 23,000 ministers; 26,000 meetinghouses owned and paid for by negroes; to say nothing of the large number of missionaries on different and varied fields of the globe. This is only a brief summary. The figures might be extended to any length. Without stopping for argument, I assume boldly and confidently that no sane, impartial student of our history and conditions can fail to see that the constant trend of the race is upward. Some may say that this is true only of an element and that there is another element of the race which has gone backward. Others may say that even this element that seems to have advanced has not really advanced. At this point some of our good Southern white people mistake. We often hear some of them say that in

the days of slavery when he was ignorant the negro was so much better than he is now. The truth is, he was a machine; his virtues and his vices alike were repressed; his soul was cramped; his mind was shriveled; he was kept within the narrow groove of servitude. For the most part he had neither encouragement nor opportunity for education, development, and growth, just as he had little opportunity for outbreking sin. Under present conditions free personality is finding self-expression. Even if only 10 per cent of the negro race could read and write and had found some sort of training and development in industry and morals, the race itself would be far better off than formerly.

One of the unfortunate things about the relation of the two races is that since emancipation, for the last fifty years, the better element of our white people have had no point of contact with the better element of the negroes. We come into contact with the criminal classes in the courts and with the servant classes in our homes. We have almost or quite no contact with and hence no knowledge of the growing element of self-respecting, self-supporting, right-thinking, right-living negroes, who are and shall be to their race just what this element of every race is to the race as a whole—namely, the salt that shall save and the light that shall guide up the steep and rough pathway of human progress. We must learn that there are negroes and negroes, and thus form a more just, a more charitable, and a more hopeful judgment of the progress and potentialities of the race as a whole. Let it be said also that the conditions of vice and crime found among any part of the negro race may be immediately matched among the criminal element of the white race. In the present situation as a whole there is the certain message of hope and cheer; we may sound the clear, high, steady note of confidence as we approach our task of uplift for the race.

Another question that ought to be asked is of scarcely less import. Is there any need? Has not the uplift already been sufficiently accomplished that the white man, more fortunate and favored, may hold himself aloof and leave the forces of civilization already set in motion to work out

their result in the negro race without sympathy and help from the white man? Is there sufficient need to accentuate our task and our obligation? To ask the question is to answer it. For the informed and sympathetic it is probably unnecessary to say a word accentuating the needs of the race. Yet if we may see the real need, if we may see how the welfare not only of the black but of the white race as well is involved, we shall lay hold of our task with a steadier and stronger hand. Recognizing fully the progress that has been made, and rejoicing heartily in this progress, we yet look out upon a black mass of humanity ten millions strong in the South, with a large additional contingent in other sections of the country, for the most part steeped in ignorance, thriftless in economic habits, unskilled in labor, emotional but immoral in religion, and only feebly aspiring, in thousands of cases not at all, to higher and better things.

A little story in my personal experience will illustrate and enforce the need for the uplift. In an Arkansas town I was holding a meeting. It was the spring of the year and the gardens were being planted. There was an old-time negro man working around the house and garden of my host. I learned from the family that he was a Baptist preacher. Going out to the garden, I engaged him in conversation. I said: "Well, uncle, you are a preacher, are you?" His face lighted up as he said: "Yas, sah, boss, yas sah, I's a preacher." "You are a Baptist preacher, aren't you?" He said: "Yes, sah, boss, 'cose I's a Baptist preacher. You seldom see no nigger 'cep'in' what's a Baptist." "Well," I said, "are you a good man?" "Well, I don' know 'bout dat, boss; I don' know, sah. I tries to be." "Well, do you do anything wrong?" "Well, I don' know, sah. I 'spec I does, but I tries to do right, sah." "Well, let me see. Now, for example, do you ever drink anything?" With a hearty chuckle he said: "Yes, sah, boss, yes, sah; 'cose I drinks sometimes. You nevah see no nigger 'cep'in' what drinks." I said sternly: "I am ashamed of you. Here you are, professing to be a preacher, and a Baptist preacher at that, and going down here to these miserable saloons and buying whisky and drinking it." He drew back and said with supreme scorn: "Who dat yo' talkin' about? Who go to de

saloon? Me? No, sah, boss, no, sah; I don' go to no saloon," I said: "Well, how do you get your liquor?" With a chuckle he said: "Well, boss, I gits some o' my members to go down da' and git it fer me." "Well, what is the difference? You just as well go and get it yourself." "No, sah, boss, no, sah; da's whar you don' understand ag'in. You see, I's a preacher, and I's got to take care o' my influence. If I go down da' to de saloon and buy liquor and some o' my members see me, I nevah could fix it up wid 'em in the roun' worl', but I gits some o' my members to go down da' and git dat liquor, and den I goes off to myself and drinks it, and den I kin git out and fix dat up wid de Lo'd in fifteen minutes."

It is a homely story, and humorous. You and I smile at it, but we should be careful lest we smile at our own photograph. It was not so much the negro in the old man as it was the human nature. It is like thousands' of others that might be related, and illustrates in a most striking and appealing manner the need for the uplift of 'this great, potential mass of humanity.

Moreover, from our point of view, this need is not simply objective; it is subjective as well. With all possible emphasis, let it be said that the white man of this nation, and especially of our Southland, where the negro numbers one-third of the population, is almost or quite as vitally concerned in this matter as is the negro himself. Purely as a matter of self-defense, the uplift of the negro is obligatory upon us. One rotten potato spoils the whole barrel. One dead limb on the tree sends its blight of death to the very heart. An ignorant, immoral, vicious element among any people anywhere will send its poison through the whole body politic. No white man in the South, whether he live up on the boulevard or down in the alley, whether he belong to the high class or the low, is independent of or unaffected by the intellectual, social, industrial, moral, and spiritual conditions which obtain among the negroes. No matter how proud we may be, no matter how conscientious, no matter how devout, neither we nor our children can be unaffected by, nor ought we to be unconcerned about, the condition of the negro. Not only from the standpoint of self-defense,

but from the standpoint of a high and holy altruism, the white man needs to undertake and perform this task. We need the elevating and sanctifying influence of this task. As we shall go out in the spirit of the good Samaritan to bind up and mollify the open, bleeding wounds of this great race, we ourselves shall be healed.

The uplift itself should come, it seems to me, at four points, or in four realms.

First, in the matter of the protection and preservation of the human rights of the negro. It would be a mere commonplace to say that no race can aspire to a high and noble achievement while its human rights are in constant jeopardy, liable at any moment to be trampled upon by the iron heel of inhuman and inconsiderate strength. In no spirit of railing accusation against our own people, but in candid recognition of the facts, we must face conditions as they are. You know and I know that the human rights of the negro are not fairly protected before the bar of our land. I started to say the bar of justice in our land, but that would be a misnomer. The negro "shoots craps" down in the alley, and the next morning appears in the police court and is sent to the city jail or to the chain gang. Well-dressed society women in brilliantly lighted parlors game for cut glass punch bowls or other expensive prizes, and the next morning their names appear on the honor roll in the society column. The negro steals a pig or a pair of shoes; he goes to prison. The white man steals a bank or an insurance company or a railroad; he remains one of the captains of finance, often without ever being arrested. If you will go and sit in one of our city courts and watch the grind, you will discover that the negro has no real chance in the matter of human rights. This may be said of the lower white classes also, but it is emphatically and preëminently true of the negro. Added to the lack of justice in the courts we have the fiendishness of the mob. If a negro commits a crime of serious nature, sometimes of trivial nature, often the mob spirit is aroused, and law and order, courts and justice, are thrown to the winds, and he is carried out and strung up by the roadside, or his body is riddled with bullets, or he is burned in the city square. If our system of

government is not strong enough to protect the rights of the humblest and the weakest of our citizens, then ultimately no human right is secure. If the rich are protected in their human rights through their riches and their position, then it is they themselves that protect themselves, and we are living under an oligarchy. No sheriff or other officer of the law ought ever to release his prisoner to the mob, whether he be black or white, nor ought ever to allow the mob to take his prisoner except over his own dead body. It is good that mob violence is greatly diminished, but it is a sad spectacle that the Governor of a Southern State, in a public meeting, should openly defend and encourage this the worst species of outlawry and crime and anarchy, as one recently did. There must come a quickening of the conscience on the part of our people that will conserve and protect the human rights of the negro, so that he shall feel that he has the same protection as any other citizen, and that he can therefore aspire to the highest and best things. The strength of the whole State stands in theory pledged, and should stand in fact pledged, for the protection of the life and limb and property of the humblest citizen in the land. No man ought to be condemned or be allowed to suffer harm without due process of law. No race can receive the largest possible uplift until the human rights of that race are respected and secured.

The uplift must come also in the realm of industry. We of the South may justly be proud of one thing: that in the South, of all places in the world, the negro has the best opportunity to earn an honest living. I believe it was Dr. Booker T. Washington who said that in the South the negro has the best chance to earn a dollar, and in the North the best chance to spend it in the theater. As statistics show, there is an encouraging percentage of the race now turning to the farm, where they live in the open, enjoy God's sunshine, breathe God's free air, drink God's pure water, and have the best of all industrial opportunities. In the cities they work on our streets, in our stores, in our hotels, in our offices, and in a thousand and one other places, moving with the utmost freedom among our people, without friction or jealousy except in the rarest instances. In this we rejoice.

The industrial rights of the negro must be preserved and perpetuated. Immigration into the South is growing and labor is organizing. With the increasing number of servant classes and with the growing number and influences of trades-unions, there is danger that the negro may be driven into a corner and may have his industrial opportunities cut off to a degree hurtful alike to himself and to the Anglo-Saxon. This point must be guarded with jealous care. We have talked of the race problem as though it were a problem only between the white man and the black man, and this chiefly in the South. The truth is, the race problem exists wherever there are different races, and the problem as between the white race and the black race is more acute and aggravated in the North than in the South. Here in the South we understand the negro and he understands us. In all of these industrial and economic and commercial relations we give him a free hand to earn an honest living, thus protecting him against the pauperism and crime of idleness. My plea to-day is that his hands shall never be tied.

Another point at which our effort for the negro's uplift must find expression is education. No race of people can receive broad and thorough uplift without education. The capacity for learning and the desire to learn, the capacity for growth and the desire to grow, are God's unmistakable testimony that he intends that every human being shall have a chance for learning and growth. The South, for the most part, has been willing to evangelize the negro; but a large element of our people, even of our good Christian people, have thought that evangelism is all that the negro needs—this, too, with a narrow and inadequate interpretation upon evangelism. They have not been willing that he should be educated. Despite this, the South has done much for the negro's education. The taxpayers of the South have put many millions of dollars into negro education since the war. We have three classes of taxpayers. First, the thoughtless and the unconcerned, who pay their taxes, not stopping to think or question how or where the public funds are expended. Second, those who recognize that a portion of the taxes goes to the education of the negro and rebel at the thought. Third, the intelligent and sympathetic, who rec-

ognize that a good portion of the taxes goes to the education of the negro and are glad of it.

While the South has done much for the negro's education through taxation, Southern philanthropy and personal benevolence have not put themselves on record in any large way for the education of the negro. I mention with pride the fact that one of our broad-minded, public-spirited citizens of Texas has recently given \$40,000 to one of the Negro Baptist Conventions of Texas for the enlargement and strengthening of their schools, conditioned on their raising a given sum. This is a hopeful indication. The time ought to come speedily when scores and scores of white men in the South who have been blessed with large possessions shall see in the education of the negro one of their greatest opportunities and shall put large sums of money upon the altar for this purpose.

We need not here discuss the kind of education the negro needs. We have had much said at this point. The word that needs most to be said, as it seems to me, is that the negro is a human being. In his education the same principles should govern and control that govern and control in the education of any race of people. The character and nature of his education must be determined by the character of labor which he is to perform. Some believe that entirely too much of past effort has been devoted to classical education, that practically all the emphasis should be put upon industrial education and training. Personally I would not put all the emphasis at one place nor the other. I for one rejoice in every well-educated doctor, preacher, lawyer, and other professional man of the race. We have a sufficient number of such men to demonstrate that many individuals of the race are capable of worthy achievement in literary and classical and scientific fields. Of course, it remains true with the negro, as with all other races, that a great majority of them cannot be lawyers or doctors or preachers or professional men of any other rank or calling, but must pursue trades and serve in industrial positions. This being true, it goes without saying that industrial education must hold a large place in any scheme or program for the education of the negro that has for its aim a general racial uplift. While

he has industrial freedom and industrial opportunity, the negro does not have adequate industrial skill, an industrial skill commensurate with his need or ours. If you and I are to set our hands wisely, earnestly, religiously to the task of the negro's uplift, we must see that he has industrial training such as will fit him for his industrial tasks and enable him to meet his industrial opportunities.

In the content of the uplift perhaps the most important thing of all is religion. The negro is—I had almost said instinctively and intuitively religious. Perhaps this would be true of any race. Man has been called the religious animal. Possibly the negro might not seem more religious than the Anglo-Saxon if the Anglo-Saxon were as natural and unaffected as the negro, if the Anglo-Saxon gave as sincere and frank expression to the real impulses, uprisings, and outgoings of his heart as does the negro. But not to press the comparison, it may be said that the negro is emphatically religious. Any program for his uplift that fails to reckon with that and that fails to enable him to make the nexus between religion and morals will fail in its purpose. This is true of any race and of all races. The foundation of all reform and the chief fundamental in all uplift is religion. All of our social service will quickly come to naught if we lose sight of the gospel which has been the creative force behind every worthy ideal that we cherish. The need for a pure gospel and a pure, unadulterated religion in the case of the negro is greatly accentuated by his long centuries of barbarism and of slavery and by the impulsiveness of his nature. He must have moderation and self-control, to restrain the evil impulses and proclivities of the fleshly nature. He must have a cultured and clean and strong ministry of his own race. We rejoice unspeakably that already a great host of negro ministers are of this type, but it is sad to say that many thousands of negro congregations are ministered to by men incapable, both in intellectual training and in moral and religious ideals and consistency, to minister to people in religion or to lead them to any high and worthy achievement. It is your task and mine, by the building of schools and in other ways, to see to it that the negro ministry is intelligent and capable and consistent.

Moreover, we have a direct personal debt in this matter of the religion of the negro. The white ministry of America ought constantly to visit the negro congregations and preach to them. Some have said that they have found the way to such service barred by racial prejudices and jealousies. Speaking with the utmost frankness, I have not found it so. There is scarcely a town of considerable size in all the Southern States into which I might go to spend three days and not have an invitation from the negro pastor to preach to his people. I have had negro congregations to wait as late as 10 o'clock Sunday night, after I had spoken two or three times already during the day, that I might come to them and bring them the message of the gospel.

If we cannot Christianize the negro in America with our predominating white citizenship and with our predominating Christian civilization, with our schools and churches, they why need we send a few scattered missionaries to Africa? Not that we should send fewer to Africa. We should send a thousandfold more. I speak not against foreign missions, in which I believe with my whole being, but in the interest of home missions. The point of the argument is that we must meet the situation here among the negroes, and that we can do so if we will.

In the closing moments may I emphasize somewhat our debt and our obligations in this matter of the uplift of the race? A task, it was said in the outset, is a definite piece of work imposed by authority or by circumstances or voluntarily assumed as an obligation. Our task is unmistakably enjoined upon us. We have an obligation as high as heaven, as broad as human interest.

There is the broad, universal human obligation of service. Let us hear the word of the Lord. After all, the thing we most need in our efforts for the uplift of the negro and in all social service is the bedrock principles of the pure gospel. In the Gospel by John our Lord and Saviour says: "If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you. Verily, verily, I say unto you, The servant is not greater than his lord; neither he that is sent greater than he that sent him."

In these words our Saviour lays upon every human being the obligation of service, and crowns his teaching by holding himself up as the supreme example. This principle is also found in Galatians vi. 2: "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ." No matter who the man with the burden, nor what the color of his skin, nor what his previous nor present condition of barbarism or servitude, we are to bear his burdens. This is the highest and most just and most accurate test of brotherhood; nothing else is brotherhood. This is the foundation principle of all social service. The apostle to the Gentiles rises to such heights of brotherhood and service, becomes so intoxicated with the burden-bearing spirit, that he issues this broad challenge: "Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?" As Atlas bore the physical world on his giant shoulders, so the apostle bore the sufferings and sorrows and weaknesses of every human being in the world on his heart. This is the divinely enjoined obligation for every one of us.

Again, we have the further and the greater obligation of the strong to the weak. Perhaps we ought to be cautious lest we should be puffed up with overmuch pride and conceit. It is quite easy for us to overestimate our own strength and other folks' weakness; it is easy for us to think and talk of the negroes' emotionalism and fanaticism in religion, and to forget that not long since some of our own folks were burning "witches." Let us be cautious and modest. Still, with all modesty it may be said that the white race is the stronger, the black race the weaker. This is true in many respects. The white race is stronger in native ability, stronger in intellectual advancement, stronger in moral and religious culture and development, stronger in worldly possessions, stronger in numbers, stronger in civic and political position and authority. We are a mighty people, set in a large place. We have upon us all of the obligations of the strong to the weak. God's Word says (Romans xv. 1): "We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves." Again (1 Thessalonians v. 14): "Now we exhort you, brethren, warn them that are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, support the weak, be patient toward

all men." These and manifold other scriptures that might be given bear to our hearts in clear and unmistakable tone the message of the eternal God that special obligation rests upon the strong to love, cherish, support, help, and uplift the weak. If we boast of Anglo-Saxon strength, if we pride ourselves upon our numbers and position, intellectual ability, inventive genius, and achievements—if we do these things, I say, we only proclaim to the world in thunder tones our abiding obligation to help our brother in black whom the Lord has put in our midst.

The culmination of our obligation to the negro and of his uplift is reached when we think of the past relations of the two races. We are the negro's debtor for services rendered; we have been and are and shall continue to be the beneficiaries of his toil. For generations the negro was our slave. He felled our forests, tilled our soil, gathered our harvests, tended our homes. It is largely through his sweat and toil that our country, North and South, has become what it is. The planter of the South received the product of his labor in the abundant yield of the cotton fields. The manufacturer of the North received that same product, put it through his looms and sent it back to the South, levying large profits, both upon the negro and his master. Neither North nor South is justified in making wry faces at the other about this matter. Every section of the republic profited equally from the negro's slavery. No thoughtful American can ignore the debt and the obligation that we owe the race unless he has a heart of stone. It is easy for us to say, as indifferent persons have said, that the negro has received his compensation for all his toil in that he was brought from heathenism to Christianity, in that he exchanged a barbarous language for the best language of modern times, in that he became the common heir with us of our goodly land. In one sense this may be so. These things may in a measure be the divine compensation to the negro; they may be the expression of the divine purpose in his exportation from his fatherland, his transportation across the sea, and his importation and enslavement in America. The wrath of man may be made in this instance, as in others, to praise God; but even so that in no sense re-

lieves us of our debt or discharges our obligation. Every fiber of our being and every drop of our blood ought to be given to the elevation and uplift of the race as a pure simple matter of debt.

Besides, who can think of the tender relation that existed between master and slave, who that knows can think, without having the deepest depths of his heart stirred with love and devotion to the negro? I never look upon one of their black faces without having all of the tenderest memories of the past stirred, and without thinking of what I owe to every individual of the race because of what they did for my father and my father's father, on back to the first day when the negro's service in bonds began.

Last December in Washington City at our second great national conference on the subject of Interstate Liquor Shipment Legislation, on the closing night of the conference we were at a great banquet. Mr. Cochran, of Baltimore, was introduced to respond to a toast. During the day it had quietly gone abroad among the attendants that Mr. Cochran had agreed to give \$10,000 for the better financing of the Anti-Saloon League in its work of moral and legislative reform. When he was presented he was given a great reception. A young man of about thirty years, a multimillionaire, he stood, modest and meek, before the applause. When the applause had subsided, he said with great moral earnestness and feeling: "Your applause is all out of order. I have done only what you would have done if you had been in my place. My father's millions were accumulated through the labors of the common people. Upon my father's death they came to me as an inheritance. Recently I have been seriously and prayerfully considering the matter of my stewardship, and I have resolved that at least a large part of my money shall be expended for the good of the common people through whose labors it came."

Some such spirit ought to seize upon and surge in the breast of every true-hearted American as he thinks of our debt and our obligation to this great mass of needy and potential and growing and hopeful humanity. Our millions have come to us largely through the negro's toil. Our civilization is largely his achievement, view it as you will.

As he has been and is the producer of our civilization, he of right ought to receive and we both of privilege and of debt ought to bestow a full measure upon him, until he shall realize the highest and best things possible to him as our brother.

A CATHEDRAL OF COÖPERATION

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A CATHEDRAL proper represents the religious aspirations and ideals of a people. A noble place of worship, often embodied in stone, it speaks of the unseen and eternal. A Cathedral of Coöperation represents an ideal central organization, to be used as a clearing house for the coöperative civic, religious, and moral reform activities of the people. It stands for the idea of united activity. It is a religious organization without a Church, but rooted in the hearts and sympathies and reciprocal relations of all the people; it stands for the higher life of the social whole.

Our plea is for a permanent basis of Christian union, moral sympathy, and coöperation among all races in America; a Cathedral of Coöperation, established and maintained in every community as a common meeting place for the representatives of all races, intent on the moral and social betterment and the uplifting of all the people.

As a nation we face a problem unmatched in human history. The world is centering here. America has become the melting pot of the nations. Here all races are melting, seething, and reforming. America will be to them either the fires of God, cleansing and redeeming, or the fires of hell, corrupting, destroying, damning.

The necessity of a well-defined basis of coöperation between diverse peoples is illustrated and enforced by the following incidents of history, relating merely to two races,

but the principles of which apply to the coöperative relations of all races.

In the first campaign for prohibition in Atlanta, in 1885, the best elements of two races met together in a campaign that developed the noblest spirit of moral earnestness I have ever witnessed. In the enthusiasm of the hour, black and white, then constituting practically the entire population of the city, were fused together in moral sympathy and in coöperation for the great cause of civic and social betterment. The interests of both in the success of the campaign were identical. They met and spoke on the same platform to the united body of citizenship. The campaign ended in a decisive victory that wiped out the saloons from Atlanta. The law was enforced, and for two years evidences of progress furnished a demonstration in favor of prohibition in a large city.

Seeing the necessity for continued coöperation and a bond of moral and religious sympathy between their leaders, a plea was made in the Evangelical Ministers' Association for a joint meeting of white and colored ministers every three months for mutual prayer and for the encouragement of a spirit of unity in the interest of temperance and moral reform and for the consideration of ethical, civic, and religious questions common to all men. This proposal was rejected. Unwholesome tendencies might be wrapped up in it, was one objection; while others said it was best for the races to hold apart and each work out its own salvation. This developed self-reliance, was the claim.

At the end of two years came the second campaign. The argument from facts was entirely on the side of prohibition. The union of white and colored leadership was far from complete. Prohibition was defeated. The only district or precinct in the entire county for prohibition was the South Bend district, in which were located Gammon Theological Seminary and Clark University. The reasons for this defeat were apparent. There was no bond of moral union, no well-defined basis of coöperation, no fusion of the races, as before, in a united and enthusiastic movement. The united rum power had been at work in a campaign that

was too much for the prohibition forces, the organizations in support of which had merely been hitched up together for this occasion.

The open saloon won. The forces of moral disorder and violence again held sway. Vile dens were opened to white and colored men; the worst whisky was sold; the chain gangs, under the convict lease system, an organized school of crime, were again kept filled to the profit of the lessees. The moral tone of the entire city was lowered.

In less than twenty years came the fruitage in the terror, bloodshed, and death of the awful Atlanta riot, when for days the city was held at the mercy of the angry and resistless mob, the red flames of which had been fed by intemperate and violent race agitation, heated by the hot liquor of the saloon. Two races stood arrayed one against the other. Violence reigned. A whole city was in terror. The tragedy of the situation was in this: there were no channels of communication open between the better elements of both races. Even white ministers were not in touch with the colored leaders. There was no Cathedral, or broad common meeting place, for the religious elements among white and black, no basis of coöperation in the interests of peace and moral order, for which the best elements of both races stood.

Finally, at the Colored Y. M. C. A., led by Governor Northen—revered, beloved—Christian white men met with the educated colored leaders in the effort to find a basis for counsel and coöperation. But these moral leaders in the same community looked each into the other's eyes as strangers. In this crisis they fell on their knees and prayed themselves into a spirit of brotherly sympathy and coöperation. This unpretentious Y. M. C. A. building, through this act, rose to the dignity of a cathedral of God. As a result, a platform of mutual confidence and harmony between the best elements of both races was established. Riot and bitterness were allayed. A city was snatched from the remorseless and inhuman jaws of a bloody, avenging, resistless mob. Now a new atmosphere and new relations obtain, as witnessed in the recent Y. M. C. A. campaign.

A colored leader has said that the riot proved a blessing in disguise.

This bit of history enforces my plea for coöperation as opposed to separation, neglect, or repression in the treatment of all immigrant or belated races and backward peoples in this land of composite civilization. The principle proposed is simply that of the Golden Rule and the application of the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount among various peoples who must live and work out their destiny together.

This idea of a Cathedral of Coöperation is American, reasonable, Christian. It is based on the Christian doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. This is the central doctrine of Jesus who was, in the word of a great historian, the "first to bring the value of every human soul to light, and what he did no one can any more undo."

This plea is based on the Christian doctrine lying at the foundation of modern democracy—reverence for man as man. As Kant has put it: "Always treat humanity, whether in yourself or another, as a person, never as a thing." It is in the interest of giving every man a chance to develop the best and divinest that is in him; to give to every man a footing of equality of opportunity in the struggle of life. It is only as all men plan and work together in sympathy and coöperation that democracy comes to its best.

Jesus never taught the flat equality of men. He did give a working principle which, wrought out in the life of mankind, would bring harmony and peace and the highest development to the individual and society.

This idea of coöperation lies at the very basis even of *material* progress. It encourages every man to be and to do his best. Permanent progress rests back in the home. It has to do with food and health and family welfare. A spirit of coöperation opposes the policy that would leave weaker peoples to lift themselves up by their own boot straps. It would lend a hand to the weaker brother. For ever is it true that the hand that contracts and cheats any race clutches at the throat and chokes broadest prosperity.

The moral life of all is involved in this plan of co-operation. People who trample any part of the social whole under the foot of ignorance, corruption, or sensuality will sooner or later find themselves under the hoofs of the same devil. No man can put a chain around the ankle of his fellow man without sooner or later finding the other end of that chain about his own neck. Unless we lift all people up, sooner or later they may drag us and our children down.

Such a broad plan of coöperation among races will overcome tendencies to violence. Lawlessness sets no limits of race. The Anglo-Saxon, in the end, is not safe where the rights of any other man are violated. Retaliation is human and inevitable. Kant is right: "If law ceases, all worth of human life ceases also."

The seat of race antagonism is race prejudice. The united sympathy at the basis of coöperation curbs this harmful spirit. Never before has there been such a mingling of nationalities. National and race barriers are breaking down. The world is becoming one. To-day the adjustment of race differences is the problem not only of the humanitarian, but of true civilization. The modern ideal must be world citizenship.

Our love for Christ has not made the progress it should in demanding humanity, justice, and sympathy for all men. How often we hear the terms, "Sheeny," "Nigger," "Dago," "Hobo"—damning to hate and intolerance a whole race because of the coarse or objectionable qualities of certain members! This is utterly unchristian. The very attitude toward the Jew is the reproach of Christian history.

Such names are apt to have behind them an attitude of contempt and hate that is dangerous. It is often the spirit of the clinched fist, with the stone held for hurling in the hour of crisis. If not curbed, we shall often see, as in the past in California toward the Japanese, in Omaha toward the Greek, and in Mississippi and Illinois toward the negro, the demon spirit of Russia that drives out the Jew, confiscates, murders. Face to face with an unprecedented commingling of the races, such an attitude is full of peril.

One of our first problems is the conquest of race prejudice. In this is involved not merely religious progress but true civilization. You can never reach and Christianize peoples whom you patronize or despise as inherently and forever inferior because of birth or color or nationality. Red, yellow, black, or brown skins are the gifts of God as well as white skins. Human hearts beat behind them all, and suffer and struggle and bleed and aspire.

Our Anglo-Saxon civilization is gathering up in its sweep and current men of all races. Only a spirit of broad sympathy and generous coöperation will redeem these peoples out of the narrowness of race feuds and hatreds and rivalries into a civilization that is genuinely tolerant, co-operative, Christian.

Objection to this spirit of coöperation roots back into the really groundless fear of what is called social equality. Such a fetish has this become, especially as related to one race, that it has led to neglect and indifference that are startling. As the late Governor Northen has said: "I have heard many sermons preached on missions to negroes in Africa, but I never heard a sermon on missions to Africans in the South."

Such a fear is groundless, because there is no such thing as social equality. There is social privilege and civil right, but no such thing as social right. Every man is lord of his own castle, and his personality is sacred against invasion. Governor Northen has pierced to the center of this whole business in the following words: "Social equality is a delusion set up by the demagogue in civic contentions to meet his ambition for place and personal power, and paraded as a device of the devil for the strengthening of the influences against the kingdom of God." What men want is not equality, but sympathy and humanity, civic justice and human rights.

Preachers are the leaders of the moral forces in all races. Let there be an organization, as broad as humanity and as catholic as Christ, in every town and city, to membership in which representatives of all Churches and of all religious and moral reform movements, of every religion and

race, shall be eligible. And here let us note the startling fact that there has been a larger spirit of coöperation between scientists and physicians of various races, in work for human welfare, than there has been between ministers of various faiths and races for the moral and social betterment of all peoples—that is, science has done what religion has failed to do.

At stated meetings of this body let all matters that relate to social well-being and moral and civic progress be freely considered. The outcome will be mutual sympathy, religious tolerance, and a broader spirit of coöperation. In the hour of calamity or of social conflict this federated body will furnish a center for common leadership and united action.

For example, interest will be quickened in the common schools, which are fundamental to a democracy; the teaching force, the equipment, the methods of instruction, the general moral atmosphere of the schools may be wisely considered.

The housing of the people, sanitation, the cleansing of physical conditions, such as have lifted Wilmington to a higher plane, would be considered.

In such a union the solidarity of race would be evident. The fact that disease draws no race lines would clearly appear; and that the pestilence that walketh in the darkness and squalor of the alley flies forth in the destruction that wasteth even in the noonday of the electric-lighted street.

Such an organization would in itself go far toward creating a new atmosphere of hope among all peoples, and would especially stimulate and encourage depressed classes. Without hope and high incentive born of civic sympathy and coöperation, no race or people can come to its best.

And when this spirit of genuine coöperation and patient sympathy wins its way among all peoples, then shall be fulfilled that prophetic dream of your own Henry W. Grady—the dawning of the new and larger day, when eternal sunshine shall rain its light and benediction on all races walking together in mutual coöperation and abiding peace.

STATEMENT ON RACE RELATIONSHIPS

No one who has attended the sessions of this sectional conference could fail to realize that there is a growing and deepening interest on the part of Southern white men in the nine million negroes who live by our sides in the South. Four sectional conferences were held in discussing the above topic, with an average attendance of between three and four hundred. The meeting was characterized by sanity, scientific investigation, a spirit of coöperation, and an intense desire for helpfulness to all. A great many of the leading universities in the South were represented by their professors or Presidents, and it was evident from the very outset that the best thinkers of both races had come together with the determination to study, without prejudice, this greatest problem of the entire South. At the conclusion of the fourth session the committee of representative Southern white men having this conference in hand drew together the following statement, not in the form of a resolution, but as a statement of conviction of some of the things needed to be brought to the attention of the entire South.

Recognizing that tuberculosis and other contagious diseases now prevalent among the negroes of the South are a menace to the health, welfare, and prosperity of both races, we believe there should be a most hearty coöperation between the health authorities of the various States, and cities and the colored physicians, ministers, and teachers. We further believe that practical lessons on sanitation and hygiene should be given in all public schools, both white and colored, and also in the institutions for advanced training throughout the Southern States.

Recognizing that the South is no exception to the nations of the world in that its courts of justice are often more favorable to the rich than to the poor, and further recognizing the fact that the juxtaposition of a more privileged race and a less privileged race complicates this situation,

we plead for courts of justice instead of mere courts of law; we plead further for a deeper sense of obligation on the part of the more privileged class to see to it that justice is done to every man and woman, white and black alike.

Recognizing that lynch law is no cure for the evil of crime, but is rather an aggravation, and is itself the quintessence of all crime, since it weakens law, and if unchecked must finally destroy the whole bond that holds us together and makes civilization and progress possible; other things being equal, we recognize that a crime is worse which is committed by an individual of one race upon an individual of another race, and that form of retaliation is most harmful which is visited by one race upon another. We further believe that there must be a prompt and just administration of the law in the detection and punishment of criminals, but to this must be added those influences of knowledge and of good will between the races which will more and more prevent the commission of crime.

Recognizing further that the economic and moral welfare of the South is greatly dependent on a better trained negro in all the walks of life in which he is engaged, and further recognizing that the State is in the business of education for the sake of making better citizens of all men, white and black alike, and thereby safeguarding the life and property of the community and upbuilding its economic prosperity—

In view of this fact, we believe that four definite steps of improvement must be made in the negro schools of the South. Such steps of improvement are already under way in a number of our Southern States:

1. The schools must be made to fit into and minister definitely to the practical life of the community in which they are located.

2. There must be a larger amount of money put into our public schools for negroes, thus enabling them to have longer terms and to secure better trained teachers.

3. There must be a more thorough supervision on the part of the white superintendents following the lead of many superintendents already working.

4. We must attempt to furnish to these negro schools, through public funds, a better type of trained teachers, and to this end more sane, thoroughgoing schools for negro teachers must be established.

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IX. THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL SERVICE

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REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL SERVICE

BY THE CHAIRMAN, REV. JOHN A. RICE, D.D., LL.D.,
FORT WORTH, TEX.

IT is strange that we should so long have read the Bible with the eyes of the individualist, that we should have failed to see in the Old Testament the germs of a great social order in which the spiritual should be supreme. It is strange that we should have failed to see in the teaching of Jesus not simply an effort to bring the individual man into satisfying and saving touch with God, but the introduction of a new kingdom, a new society. The renovation of the social order was his task as well as the regeneration of the individual. It is strange that for so long the Church has felt its mission to be confined to evangelism, denying in part or in whole that it was hers to create a new environment in which the newborn soul could achieve himself in association with his fellows on a basis of equality of opportunity. Whether religion is cause or effect, it is most vital, for back of all of our institutions, back of all of our ideals, back of all our personal and social life is the fundamental abiding religious instinct. That instinct must express itself in terms current in each particular generation. No discussion of religion in this day, therefore, is possible which does not at least undertake to solve its relations to the economic order in terms of democracy, and that democracy must be organized around the man rather than around the dollar of the machine.

Jesus regarded the satisfaction of real economic need as of more consequence than the punctilious observance of non-ethical ordinances, as when he permitted his hungry disciples to pluck grain on the Sabbath and referred to the example of David, who did not scruple to override the temple regulations to satisfy his hunger. The methods of modern industry tend to make of the toiler not a creative worker but an automaton, part of a machine, even less important than the machine he operates. When the pride of production is gone, the man simply becomes one of many hands;

when the old machine becomes useless, it is thrown to the scrap pile—but Christ will not permit us to deal in that way with human souls. When the machine is damaged, the owner bears the cost of injury and charges it to the expense of production—but of how much more value is a man than a machine? As Christians we demand a humanized industry, a more equitable distribution of the products of labor, not for more wealth, but for more justice, more equality of opportunity, more brotherhood. The basis of a Christian society is economic, but the ends are spiritual.

The fact is that we are far from having, at present, such a brotherhood and spiritualized society as is contemplated by Christianity. It is said that one per cent of the families in this country hold more wealth than the remaining ninety-nine per cent. A score of men control, though they do not own absolutely, twenty billion dollars. Wealth has an influence beyond the money actually owned. A million persons may possess stock in the railroad companies of this country, but a handful of men control the property. The oil, steel, coal, and railroad interests are said to dominate our industry. But what matters it to the Christian whose treasures are not of this earth? It matters this, that God's will is not done on earth as it is in heaven; that the workingman feels that the corporations have too much power over the destiny of himself and family; that an impersonal corporation, indifferent to his interests, is seeking to use him as a tool for the production of greater profits. It means that as long as the poor suffer for the necessities of life, while the wealthy display and squander their riches; as long as the Church that calls herself Christian fails to emancipate herself from the control of capitalism and to face the moral issues of our modern civilization courageously—so long will our protestations of Christian loyalty be but a sham and an object of derision. It should be not only a disgrace to die rich, but also a disgrace to grow inordinately rich.

The transformation is already in process; the gospel is regenerating the forces of economic life. There is, however, about the gospel of Jesus an impartiality that lifts it above the class consciousness and panaceas of many well-meaning enthusiasts who become impatient and critical

when their schemes are not readily embraced. The application of Christian principles changes with conditions; hence we may well be cautious about tying Christianity up with any specific program. The outlook of Christianity is also much broader than that of many systems of social ethics, for it is not limited to the present life.

There is an unrest to-day analogous to that of the years preceding the birth of Christianity. At the basis of the present social unrest is the industrial revolution, involving the introduction of labor-saving machinery, specialization in industry, the power of corporations, and the uneven distribution of wealth.

Professor William James has said: "A wave of religious activity analogous in some respects to the spread of Christianity, Buddhism, and Mohammedanism is passing over our American world." There is indeed something like a revival of religion, a moral renaissance. Christianity must speak its word in helping to solve the problem of the control and distribution of wealth. Perhaps the present is the most critical testing that the Christian faith has ever had to meet. The awakening is probably more radical than that of the reformation. To meet the crisis successfully the great unused power of religion must be released. Those who profess the evangelical experience of conversion from the world continue their economic life in the ways of the world. Persons "soundly converted" are not soundly enough converted to become thoroughly socialized in their thinking and conduct. Too often the law of love does not govern the whole life.

But the spiritual awakening has arrived. It is the effort to bring into individual and social life the spirit and ideal of Jesus. The restless yearning of men for economic and spiritual freedom is the breath of God. God is calling to us out of the idealistic currents of our age. God is working in his world against every kind of tyranny and abuse, "beating down the things that are unlovely" and seeking to extend fraternity, and it is our privilege to work together with Him.

We are coming then to see that the kingdom of God, which is the ancient name for the new democracy, is nothing less than a community of regenerate persons living in

filial fellowship with God and fraternal service to each other. It must therefore never be lost sight of that permanent social service must be rendered from the standpoint, with the backing, and in the spirit of religion. It seems to be now conceded among social settlement workers, for example, that the ideal social settlement is that which works with the dynamic of religion, which is the central power in personal and social life, the mainspring of human conduct. The Church has been of immense worth in its evangelistic preventive and development work. She has not only gathered up the fragments, but conserved old values and constantly created new. In spite of all her defects, she is still, and forever will be, the driving power of the world. This is notably conceded in the South.

Your committee is glad to say that, in spite of the new commercialism and industrialism that have involved the home, that have called out of its sacred and secluded precincts thousands of our women, and in spite of rapid changes everywhere, the Southern woman still holds her place as the first force in the land. In her struggles for existence, in her battle for daily bread, she has not lost the finer touches of her womanly instinct, and is still the worthy medium for the embodiment and expression of our highest values. She is first in the home, first in the Church, first in educational movements, first among the constructive forces of our higher life, first to help maintain the old faith while inspiring the new hope.

We regret to report the apparent decline of religion in the Southern home. The increasing tension of business, the struggle to meet the rising cost of living, the rapid movements of social life, and the growing demands upon the different members of the family have made it difficult to maintain the old family altar, and the Bible is read but little, in concert at least. In many places the Sunday school has been given the place of the parent in teaching the fundamentals of life. We fear that to some degree there is decadence even of the beautiful custom of saying grace at the table. Your committee would not sound a note of alarm, and yet we would emphatically call attention to this decline of some simple but vital elements in our old-time home re-

ligion. The revival of the family altar, of Bible-reading and religious discussions would tend to create an inspiring atmosphere in the home that would tend to prevent many a wound, many a sin, and many a domestic chasm. It would also lift many a soul to higher levels.

We note with pleasure the steady growth of those agencies which are seeking to develop the religious instincts in childhood. The Sunday school is making rapid headway. The interdenominational forces which have been at work for several years are bringing results. Your committee is aware of the danger at the present moment of inefficient teaching in the Sunday school. The new knowledge which is giving direction to teaching everywhere else cannot be ignored here. Yet a little learning is a dangerous thing. We believe it to be possible to interpret the Bible and the phenomena of religion in terms of modern life and yet retain everything essential in the old. We would warn against the inroads of fads and foibles; we would plead for adherence to the great fundamentals and for employing such new methods as may now be most effective.

We are glad to believe that a better understanding is coming to exist between the races in the South. We believe profoundly in maintaining the integrity of each individual race. We would view amalgamation with distress. We would consider it to be best for the white man and the negro each to maintain his race integrity, and each to work out his salvation without reference to the social attitude of the other. We could wish, however, that there were more distinct effort on the part of the Southern Churches to carry the ideals of Christianity into the lives and homes of our negroes. We have wondered why it is not possible to have social settlements, in which the arts and crafts, sports and plays, might be used as a medium for carrying a wholesome social message to the negroes.

Dr. Booker T. Washington says: "The chief work of the white denominations in helping the negro has been assisting directly or indirectly in his education and moral uplift. Another very important thing that the white denominations, particularly in the South, have assisted in doing is the creating of a right spirit toward the negro. The

chief social center for the negro has been in his Church. Here almost all of his social activities have had their origin. Almost all gatherings and conventions are held in churches. Many educational institutions were started in churches. There seems to be no organized effort by colored denominations for definite socializing work, although many individual Churches are beginning now to carry on this form of work. There are many church buildings that have cost from ten to fifteen thousand dollars, and many of these are provided with rooms for carrying on work other than the regular religious exercises. St. Philips Protestant Episcopal Church, New York City, has a special building for carrying on socializing work. In several cities there are colored institutional churches, as the Colored Institutional Church in Kansas City, the Institutional Church in Chicago, the Bethel Baptist Church in Jacksonville, Fla., and the Congregational Institutional Church in Atlanta, Ga. The Institutional Church at Jacksonville has a kindergarten room, a young men's recreation room, kitchen, dining room, library, reading room, bath and toilet rooms for men and women, a printing office, a gymnasium, and two rooms for domestic science work. Both white and negro Churches ought to coöperate in assisting in improving the moral conditions among negroes, increasing their educational facilities, lessening the crime rate, and improving health conditions. In the colored Churches there is an opportunity to teach the people concerning the rules of sanitation, etc. In the white Churches are, to a large extent, those who own the property which the negroes rent, and these same persons are mainly those for whom the negroes work. Another important coöperative work for the colored and white Churches is the bringing together of the best white and colored people to work for social and civic improvement and for a better understanding between the races."

We would welcome more determined effort on the part of the Churches to help the negro achieve himself. It is to be regretted that we sometimes set him bad examples in morals. It is not uncommon for a housewife to seek to secure another's cook, or an employer to entice another's workman, nor are we without fault in other dealings with them.

On such themes the Church cannot speak out too strongly, even for our own sake, for those who wrong the weaker to-day will wrong each other to-morrow.

We regret to notice the almost entire absence of anything like concerted effort to reach the Asiatics and others among us. We think this a strategic moment for a right approach to the incoming immigrant, to the incoming races from the ends of the earth. Our churches and Sunday schools should by all means use all available avenues of approach to aliens of every sort and kind.

We hope to see the day when the Jew and the Christian also shall come to a better understanding and into closer fellowship. He cannot be a Christian who cherishes feelings of antagonism to the race that has given to the world its three greatest religions, his own Master included. He cannot be a true son of Abraham who is not willing to give and take in the common struggle of life.

Your committee views with regret the incipience of class stratification in the South—the idle rich on the one hand and the idle poor on the other. We are free to a great degree from the curses of commercialism, and the Christianizing of our social order ought to be easier than in those quarters where industrialism has been supreme for a generation. The social note in religion and the social emphasis in religious work ought to afford a means of preventing the high-steeple church and the little mission around the corner each ministering to separate and distinct clienteles. The rapid increase of wealth among us ought to make it possible to do greater things for the less fortunate. We fear that public spirit as to culture and religious institutions in the country is too weak. Our observation has been that wealthy men in the country do not, as a rule, contribute to socializing agencies according to their ability. Too many of them are shortsighted and narrow. We would urge a more liberal spirit upon those in positions of power both in the city and in the country.

We are grieved to report that hitherto very little has been done for the religious training of the criminal. Very few of our prisons have chapels or any place where religious exercises can be held. The chaplaincy, where there is one,

in our institutions is seldom little more than a form. We regret that nothing is being done for the ex-convict. He comes out of prison with the stigma upon him and faces a frowning world, helpless. Your committee has learned of some admirable service that has been done in preaching to these men the gospel of a new start. We believe this to be a fertile field for intelligent, trained effort, and we shall hope to see the day when only trained workers shall be in charge of our prisons, and when prison life shall be conducted, not from the standpoint of vindictive justice or the protection of society by visiting upon the antisocial so much punishment for so much crime, but from the standpoint of protecting society by redeeming its lost members and bringing them back to efficiency. We rejoice in the new criminology which offers hope for the young especially. While we deplore the increasing numbers of the degenerate, delinquent, and defective, we believe that many of these are within the reach of the saving message of the Church. Many a boy has gone into prison and into ruin because not so much as one sympathetic voice was raised in his defense or one sympathetic heart understood his problem. The fact that 25 per cent of juvenile criminals are mentally defective enters a powerful plea for the Churches to put their saving arms about wandering youths.

It is not necessary to take our time to speak of the white slave traffic. The papers have been full of it and we have been made aware of a gigantic combination of forces in the interests of vice that has almost taken the breath of the nation. The experience of rescue workers seems to give us a ray of hope, if only we knew how to handle this perplexing question. We regret to report but little done in this direction in the South. But we venture to hope that the present agitation will bring forth good. The Travelers' Aid work cannot be too highly commended.

We are pleased to note the more intelligent approach to the problems of charity. We are glad to see the Churches coming together and working with the State and municipality, not simply for relief, but also for rescue.

We believe in the latest methods of caring for orphans; we value highly their training in private families. The

institutional child is a near tragedy. There are ample childless homes for all our orphans if only there were effective agencies for finding them.

We regret to know that there are but few places in the entire South where defectives and incipient criminal orphans can be placed and put under proper training. We could wish to see the immediate erection of adequate institutions for them. One ounce of such prevention is worth tons of futile efforts to cure.

Your committee regrets to have to acknowledge the power of the saloon, the gambling hell, and allied evils. We are glad to commend the Anti-Saloon League for its work in combining the Churches in war upon them. And we are glad of the growth of moral legislation in several States. We rejoice also in the increasing efforts now being made to get at the roots as well as the fruits of these institutions. We are aware that morals cannot be secured by legislation, yet legislation does register the conscious moral need of a people, the stage of their moral evolution, has educational value, and is essential to permanence of reform. We therefore favor continuous antagonism to every species of vice. We believe above all in the persistent education of our children in such free self-control from within as will make them strong in the face of every temptation. Two generations of such training would well-nigh destroy these foes of society, for drunkards and debauchees are made before the tenth year is passed.

We are particularly pleased to note a growing attitude of friendliness between the Church and labor. We observe that the laboring man in the South is not yet infected with the virus of materialism to such an extent as to make him entirely antagonistic to the Church and religion. We are glad to report also that the Church is coming to understand and approve the fundamental principles for which the labor unions stand. The message of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America is having no little to do in educating the leaders of the Churches. We should like to see all united in a concerted effort to prepare our institutions for the incoming of the immigrant with the opening of the Panama Canal. We believe that this is an important

moment for both the labor unions and the Church. We commend the growing disposition of the Churches to elect fraternal delegates to the unions. We would urge all our pastors' associations in our cities to seek such affiliation as far as it seems practicable.

Your committee is pained to have to say that the Church has done but little in the way of preventing immoral publicity. We regret that there are still Southern papers that publish bloodcurdling stories under flaming headlines, and we regret that all too little attention is given to the social aspects of crime. We should be glad to see the day when every report of crime would be treated only from the social standpoint and made the vehicle of a social message. We deplore the practice of spreading upon billboards and in public places pictures, in some cases semi-lewd, which lure to ruin. We believe that suggestion is a powerful factor in social psychology. We fear that much crime is due to the publicity given to the details of domestic and other tragedies. We are deeply grieved that our papers still advertise whisky, and even our religious papers quack doctors, patent medicines, etc. What a pity that, for a few dollars, the Churches thus help murder the innocents.

We are glad to report a distinct civic sense in the Churches. The Church, while entirely different from the State in its organization, is a part of the State, and so recognizes itself. Churches are coming to be more and more interested in problems civic and political. While we deplore the bringing of politics into the pulpit at all times, we commend the sane presentation of moral issues without personalities, and we believe the method of the Southern Church to be wise in presenting a constructive message in civic affairs. We believe that the Church must keep its eye on legislation and politics, as well as on commerce, industry, and every other phase of our life; but we believe that her chief work, after all, is one of inspiration. She is the power house of the modern world.

We regret that the Church in the South has done so little for the recreative life and health. We do not know that her influence has been much used for the increase and beautification of parks, for the holding of public art exhi-

bitions, for adhering to the highest forms of æsthetics in public buildings, for preaching the gospel of the beautiful in public life. Nor are we aware that much has been done to secure better housing conditions for the people, better sanitation, for clean-ups that are permanently effective. We are glad to see the federation of the Churches in some of our cities for aggressive evangelism and social service. We regret that too little has been done for athletics and clean sports. We are glad to note a growing sentiment in favor of such activity. We believe profoundly in the gospel of recreation, of relaxation, and we fear that the growing industrialism of our times may cause the sense of play to die out of many of our hearts. It has a distinct moral value, makes its own contribution to character. We therefore venture to hope that it will receive more attention from our pulpits. There is danger of substituting mere amusement for genuine play.

On the whole we are glad to report a wholesome religious sentiment in the South and a growing disposition to express religion in terms of social life. Our leaders are not disposed to depart from the faith of our fathers, nor are they on the whole antagonistic to the new terms through which religion carries its message to our day and generation. Your committee would make the following recommendations:

1. We would recommend a more aggressive policy on the educational side of civic matters. Such questions as sanitation, the milk supply, meat and vegetable inspection, for example, can be taught with tremendous effectiveness by the use of Edison's new moving picture machine, which can be attached to any electric socket and is intended for Sunday school and day school use. Short illustrated lectures before the evening sermon have been given in some places with great profit. The moving picture is used in 1,200 American churches and is here to stay. We urge its free use wherever practicable.

2. We would recommend that each Church make a social survey, getting complete possession in systematic form of the conditions and needs of the community in which they work and listing possible types of social effort.

3. List the men and women in the Churches with reference to the kind of work they are capable of and willing to do. Let special effort be made to secure a large number of men, organized in brotherhoods if possible, for aggressive work.

4. Elect a social service committee for the whole Church and a social service assistant superintendent of the Sunday school whose business it shall be to direct all the expressive activities.

5. Seek to lay, by systematic effort, upon the consciences of the rich the sense of responsibility for the particular needs of their city, with special reference to down-town efforts. So in rural communities.

6. We recommend the unification of our Church forces upon one concerted effort at evangelizing the down-and-out in a thoroughly equipped Union Mission. We call for definite evangelistic work at least once a week in shops, factories, and available business places by all the Churches together.

7. Unify the charity forces of the city. We would urge the Churches to do their miscellaneous charity work largely, if not entirely, through the organized forces of the city. We hope yet to see the Union Mission, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the United Charities working in concert for both relief and upbuilding.

8. Unite as far as possible in establishing Protestant hospitals with indoor and outdoor clinics, visiting nurses, etc.

9. We would urge Churches to federate to save waste and increase efficiency.

10. Have regular set times when social workers shall report the results of their activities to a great inspirational meeting. Make liberal use of charts exhibiting conditions in their own city.

11. Encourage wider use of church buildings. A Fine Arts Evening has been regularly given with great success. So a Social Service Evening.

12. Conduct open forums as often as possible for discussion of current issues. A frank and free expression of

opinion, even on the part of the bad, might tend to clear the atmosphere.

13. We believe it would be worth while for the Churches to unite in securing a page in the daily papers and present across the top of the page a message to the community every week, using the rest of the page for the announcements. Cry down immoral publicity. Suggestion breeds crime. Your committee laments the selling of space, not only in secular papers but religious as well, to the quack doctor and for patent medicine advertisements.

14. We would urge the exchange of delegates by ministerial bodies with the labor unions. The Methodists, the Baptists, and the general pastors' association in Fort Worth, Tex., have their regular representatives in the Trades Assembly. Study labor at first-hand. Let the Church help secure needed labor legislation, such as that against child labor, excessive hours for women, unsanitary conditions, etc., and for such industrial democracy as righteousness demands.

15. Observe Labor Sunday in all the churches.

16. Let each denomination establish a Department of Church and Social Service, and each Conference, Synod, Convention, etc., have a committee on that subject, as well as a standing committee in each congregation.

17. Keep an eye on the cost of living and the economic conditions that control it. Present a solid front against artificial means of extracting money from the people on the necessities of life.

18. Seek wherever possible improvement in public utilities and in great commercial enterprises, such as department stores, factories, etc. Plead the cause of the poor against the illiberal landlord, the loan shark, and every other type of oppressor.

19. We should be glad to see each of our cities have a woman's boarding home, where, under safe conditions, the working girl who comes to town may be supported at small cost and directed while she learns her new trade. These ought by all means to be under the direction and influence of the Churches or the Young Women's Christian Association.

20. While it is bad psychology to be perpetually parading vice before the people, it is yet worth while to keep before them the significance of the saloon, the gambling den, and their allied interests. It is very important, your committee thinks, to develop a sentiment by gradual education. We do not believe a great deal can be done by sudden spurts. We believe profoundly in efficient training. We believe also in getting at causes. Help in the fight against cocaine, whose ravages are alarming.

21. Information and employment bureaus ought to be provided wherever possible, together with free clinics and free legal advice.

22. Take an active interest in amusements and play; see that the negroes have parks and other means of recreation. Help cultivate a sentiment for parks before land is too valuable. Preach the gospel of relaxation. Keep an eye on public dance halls, moving pictures, and the theaters. Stand for and share the clean recreative life of the community.

23. A down-town social center for men, probably enlarging the Young Men's Christian Association, and one for women in connection with the Young Women's Christian Association.

24. Give special attention to newsboys and the children of the streets and back alleys.

25. Help the juvenile court. Get chapels in jails as fast as possible. Keep in touch with the administration and with officers of the law and public institutions, encouraging what is right, rebuking what is wrong.

26. Help to make the new criminology orthodox. Help strike the chains and handcuffs off convicts working in public. A remedial attitude toward the criminal, some method by which his work can be made to help those who are dependent upon him, and a chance for the ex-convict—these are some of the tasks now before us.

27. Help in the fight against preventable diseases and for the art of living intelligently.

28. Institute methods of recording details of social work, and make them available to the public.

29. Let the country churches make wider use of their buildings. Provide circulating libraries. Let them help

provide better highways, better schools, better comforts and conveniences for the home, better culture forces in general, and better living conditions on the whole, including amusements, sports, etc.

30. Establish training schools for defectives and delinquents.

31. We would, with all possible emphasis, plead for complete agreement among all ministers refusing to marry divorced people where the grounds for the divorce are unscriptural. We deem the integrity of the home indispensable at any cost.

32. Let the mothers of each congregation form a Mothers' Council under whose direction the mothers will all study the Sunday school lesson with their children. Let them meet during the Sunday school hour in class, not simply to recite, but to discuss their problems and to study child psychology and eugenics, as far as possible under an expert. Let them secure extension lectures on these subjects. Let the fathers do likewise in groups. Esteem parenthood the noblest career open to mortals and exhaust every means to reach the highest efficiency.

33. All these are important, but we desire to make our closing words an earnest exhortation to all the Churches to let none of them replace emphasis upon vital, personal religion. There are many agencies tending to detract from the sermon and from the evangelizing, teaching, and edifying ministry of the Church, but we would utterly deplore any movement to give them any place but the first in Christianizing the social order. A great plant can manufacture nothing without motor power, nor can the Church bring results that count in God's eyes without the constant inflow of regenerating currents from on high. Life must be held greater than any expression of it, and God is the source of it.

THE SOCIAL PROGRAM OF THE CHURCH

PROF. WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH, D.D., ROCHESTER, N. Y.

It is Sunday afternoon. I am to speak for the Church and to the Church. What special contribution can the Church make to the solution of our social questions? The Church is by far the most powerful voluntary organization in our country. All the fraternal organizations taken together number only about twelve million members. All the Churches of America together number about thirty-three million communicants. The Church has a majestic history, beside which all other organizations are mere upstarts. It has the Holy Book with its tremendous dynamic of freedom and righteousness. It is organized for the highest ends, the only organization created solely for the kingdom of God. Business is for money and moves toward profit. Statesmanship seeks the good of the people, but necessarily moves toward concrete minor ends and must adapt itself to immediate needs. On the other hand, the Church should seek out the polestar of justice and truth and lay down the permanent north and south lines of all human action, planning all social life according to the will of the Eternal.

Therefore, the Church should have the highest and bravest, the most far-reaching and revolutionary social program. It has such a program in the idea of the reign of God on earth. Every time we recite the Lord's Prayer we pray for an ideal social condition on earth: "Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth." What wrong would survive and what rights be suppressed if that petition were fulfilled?

But, if we ask for any detailed program to realize this social reign of God on earth, where shall we find it? Shall we look in the ancient creeds of the Church, the Nicene, the Athanasian, the Creed of Trent, the Westminster Confession? You will find in these creeds affirmations about purgatory and prayers for the dead, about predestination and the antichrist, but only in a few will you find even a germ of a social program for the Church.

This is not strange if one understands the history of religion, and also if one understands how recent scientific social thought is in the modern world. Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," which marks the beginning of modern political economy, was published only in 1776. The Church, in common with all humanity, lacked a scientific understanding of social laws. The very idea of a continuous, systematic, conscious, and determined social progress is new. To-day there is a concerted movement running through all the civilized nations. Humanity is on the march, and one social group after the other is falling in line. But this is a situation unparalleled in history, and when God looks upon this earth it may seem to him the most wonderful thing he sees here.

To-day a social program is becoming possible, and in the last five years a number of great denominations have formulated a definite program for social action and advance. The program adopted by the Federal Council of the Churches in 1908, and expanded and reaffirmed in 1912, comes nearest to being a definite social program of the Protestant Churches of America. If it had been adopted and measurably carried into effect fifty years ago, how much of sin, of shame, of degradation, and of death would it have saved our country? Let me read to you this program:

"The Churches must stand—

"For equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life.

"For the protection of the family by the single standard of purity, uniform divorce laws, proper regulation of marriage, and proper housing.

"For the fullest possible development for every child, especially by the provision of proper education and recreation.

"For the abolition of child labor.

"For such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.

"For the abatement and prevention of poverty.

"For the protection of the individual and society from the social, economic, and moral waste of the liquor traffic.

"For the conservation of health.

"For the protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational diseases, and mortality.

"For the right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, for safeguarding this right against encroachments of every kind, and for the protection of workers from the hardships of enforced unemployment.

"For suitable provision for the old age of the workers and for those incapacitated by injury.

"For the principle of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.

"For a release from employment one day in seven.

"For the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.

"For a living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford.

"For the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised.

I said that the Church has no formulated social program. But it has always had an unwritten program wrought into its very constitution and life. You know that the destiny of our lives is not determined by formal resolutions so much as by the deep-running forces of our nature. Here is a girl in high school, vowing that she will never marry, but will devote herself to the high ends of art. But all the time Nature has her by the hand and is leading her toward love and home and the children that are to be. Paul said that he was called to the ministry while yet in his mother's womb.

So with the Church. Its program was set for it in its historical origin and in the mission for which it exists. Its origin is Jesus Christ. Its mission is the reign of God on earth. We have misunderstood and forgotten both. But the Church cannot get away from either; they make up her destiny. The history of the Church is a strange mingling

of sin and holiness. She has caged Christ in her temples, blanketed him in her vestments, muffled his voice with her theologies, and for centuries, if he had reappeared in the midst of his own Church, the Church would have imprisoned and killed him with far greater precision than the Jewish Church did it. Yet she cannot keep him down. His ideas always reëmerge. His spirit is always reincarnated. At her worst times Jesus still haunted her; at her best times he overpowered her. He is always struggling for utterance in her life. Paul says that the Holy Spirit prays in us with groanings that cannot be uttered. So Christ seeks utterance in the life of the Church. He is her subconscious mind. The Church ought to be the socialized mind of Christ.

Have you ever felt an overwhelming sense of the social wrong about us or seen a real vision of possible justice reigning in humanity? If you have, "quench not the Spirit." This is your chance of experiencing inspiration. From the subterranean reservoirs the surface waters come up: sometimes as an artesian well; more often as a spring bubbling up under the root of a tree on the hillside. So the inspiration of Christ may come as a storm over the soul, or as a gentle welling-up of the water of life. But in such experiences you may pass through a mental regeneration that will make a social Christian of you, and bring you in line with that inwrought semiconscious social program which the Church had had from the beginning.

Can we undertake to state a few of the fundamental demands of this program of the Church?

1. It is part of the program of the Church to establish as an automatic conviction in the popular mind the belief in the worth of a man's personality. Jesus always recognized it, not only in the finer and nobler specimens of humanity, but in the poor and sinful. He rejoiced when the publican showed that he too was a child of Abraham. He championed the great sinner and pointed out the beautiful tact of her affection. Why did he stoop down and write in the dust when they dragged that woman into the temple before him fresh from her sin? Was it not because he could not bear to look on her public shame? He put the

same penalty on calling a man a worthless fool which others had put on murder. It is a murder of the soul to paralyze a man's sense of his own worth.

The Church must stand for the same valuation of human personality. The State sees in the man a citizen, a producer of goods, a soldier. The Church sees in him also a soul, a child of God, a brother of Christ, a being of eternal value even when he is at his lowest.

There is a tremendous social program simply in that affirmation. A man is not then a mere thing, a blind productive tool, a mere "hand," not a commodity that can be bought in the cheapest market and used up like any other raw material to make wealth for stockholders. A woman is not a mere instrument for pleasure. Woe to us if we crush or make hideous the image of God! This is enough to settle the attitude of the Church toward pauperism, unemployment, child labor, prostitution.

The Church must create respect for the worth of a man, not only in others, but in himself. It must rouse him from his self-contempt and put aspiration and hope into him. It must create in him the Christian combination of self-assertion and self-surrender. In the past it has taught the latter more than the former. The ruling classes always and everywhere resent an increasing self-assertion on the part of the working class as if it were the beginning of evil, whereas it is really the beginning of virtue.

2. One special part of the social program of the Church is to care for those who are least capable of caring for themselves. Jesus emphasized the interest in "the least of these" as a mark of discipleship. Whoever offended "one of the least of these" and harmed his spiritual stature deserved a millstone around his neck. He always stood at bay over the little ones, as if he said to cruel and Pharisaic society: "Don't you dare to hurt my little sister and brother!" The State must adjust itself to the average man. The Church must especially adjust itself to those who are below the average. The Church has always had that spirit in it, but it has often pauperized those whom it desired to help by its charity. If it now adds scientific knowledge and pre-

ventive methods to its ancient love, it will have a social program.

3. It is part of the program of the Church to help all men to a full salvation. But a decent material and spiritual environment are necessary to a full salvation. It is mockery to plant a seed and give it no soil to grow in. It is a crime to beget a child and create no family life in which that child shall be nurtured. So it is but half of our religious work to summon young souls to a noble and holy life if we then pay them \$3.50 per week, place them in slums, and let the soot of sin settle all over them. Let us combine our doctrine of regeneration with common sense, as in fact we do in the case of our own children. My Christian friends who oppose the doctrine of the saving or damning power of environment have given away their case when they fight the saloon. The saloon, with its tastes and smells and pleasures, is part of the environment of the young. If environment counts for nothing, why do we not preach salvation and let the saloon alone?

4. The program of the Church always and everywhere involves that it shall bring redemption to the lost. The delinquent and criminal classes are surely the lost. They are the sheep that have strayed off while the rest of us have stayed within the fold of respectability. How does the redemptive program of the Church affect penology? Hitherto the treatment of delinquents and criminals has been determined by the instinct of fear and revenge on the part of the possessing and powerful classes. There has been very little redemption in it. In fact, we might well say that prison life cuts off most of the saving influences. It takes a man away from his wife and all womanly influences. It shuts him off from the light that shines in the faces of children, from the good will of friends, from the wholesome influence of useful labor, from the chance of earning and the hope of providing for the future. It leaves only the saving influence of solitary brooding and meditation. We do not subject our prisoners to a maximum of redemptive influences, but to a minimum of redemption. For ages we have put them as near hell as we could.

It should be part of the permanent social program of the Church to change our vindictive penal system into a reformatory and redemptive system. As Christians we should back up those judges and public officers who are trying to do it. One sure step in that direction is to abolish contract labor in the prisons. I pray for the blessings of God on this Congress for setting a declaration against contract prison labor at the head of all its declarations. It is hard enough for a poor man to fall into the hands of an exploiting corporation. But when the State uses its coercive powers to back a prisoner into a corner while the corporation exploits him, such a situation cries to Heaven. It is essentially the same combination which made the Congo rubber trade infamous. You and I are the State. What the State does, we do.

5. It is the social program of the Church to create a spirit in men that will make wrong intolerable to them. We are all keen about our own wrongs and indifferent to the wrongs of others. We are keen about the wrongs of our own class; but when our social sympathy has to pass over to some other race, or nation, or religion, or class, the cry for help beats against sound-proof walls. It is as if a bit of rubber were inserted in the electric circuit of sympathy. Industrialism de-sensitizes us against wrong. The Church must sensitize. Woe to the Church if it ever sanctions indifference or contempt between nations, or religions, or social classes, or human races, circumscribing thereby the area of love and checking the growth of the Christian spirit among us! Woe to the Church if it ever dopes men with spiritual anæsthetics by half-true doctrines about the value of suffering and poverty! It then becomes a traitor force in human society.

6. It is inherent in the social program of Christianity to reach out beyond all minor groups toward a realization of all humanity. So Jesus reached out beyond the boundary of Judaism toward international humanity. The Church was the pioneer in making the idea of humanity effective in the ancient world. All our modern developments are calling for an international organization of the nations in the in-

terest of justice and peace. This is an immense task for generations to come. The interests of the State may often be against it. The Church must support that movement with its great moral force. It must teach us all an undying hatred for war, not simply because it is expensive and damages trade, but because it kills and brutalizes men and is the reverse of the kingdom of God.

The Church must not usurp the place of the State, nor meddle in party politics. But the doctrine of the separation of Church and State becomes a danger when we forget that the Church is one of the chief molding forces within society. All righteous action becomes easy when the Church coöperates with it. Then freedom, justice, and fraternity become realizable. If the Church opposes such causes, they must struggle painfully toward partial realization or failure. The Church is so powerful that it can tie up all progress if it is so minded. Let us pray that we may have not only stronger Churches, but also the right kind of Churches.

Thus, there is an immense unfulfilled social program contained in the personality and mind of Jesus Christ and in the mission to realize the reign of God on earth. Any teacher or leader who is concerned only in personal ethical conduct is sure to slight and misdirect even that. All social questions are moral questions on a large scale. We must convert our half-conscious and ill-defined ways and methods into clear and concerted plans.

This is the call of the new age to the ancient Church. I believe that it will meet the call because within it is the never-dying, ever-youthful, ever-insurgent Spirit of Jesus Christ.

SOCIAL SERVICE AND THE CHURCH

SAMUEL Z. BATTEN, D.D.

WE are living in a new and wonderful time. The present age is one of the great creative epochs in the world's history. There have been several such epochs in the centuries past, and we may therefore expect the recurrence of another and yet another. The eighth century B.C. was such an epoch, one that saw the beginnings of some great nations and some fateful movements. The first century of our era was another, when Christianity arose to change dates and turn the whole drift of history. The sixteenth century was another, when the mind of Europe awoke and the modern age with its freedom and democracy was born. And now once more in this time another great movement is gaining direction and momentum. The age of the social gospel is here and the social reformation is upon us. A great new age is struggling to the birth, a great Messianic movement is at our door. It is worth while to be living in such a time as this. It is glory enough to play a part in this new epoch. It is too early in the day for any one to forecast the changes that are coming and to describe the world that is to be. But it is possible for us to have a sense of direction for the day's march and to know some of the things that lie near at hand.

The Church is discovering—perhaps it were better to say the Church is rediscovering—the fundamental idea of Christianity, the kingdom of God. The race is gaining what has been called the sense of humanity. The world is coming to social self-consciousness, and humanity is having a new awakening. Mankind is conscious of a new heart hunger. We are learning to-day that humanity is a unit and we are all in the same boat for good or for ill. We realize as never before that we are bound in our brother's bondage, that we become free in his freedom, that there will be no pure air for any man to breathe till there is pure air for the lowliest of God's children. We are growing the social blush,

sciously and deliberately undertake to improve living conditions and to transform human society. It is social service in that it is service of men in their associated and community life. It is social service in that it deals with men and women not as individuals alone but as social beings and members of society. It is social service in that it deals with social conditions and needs, and seeks not alone to save the man but to save the institutions of his life. It is social service in that it demands social action. It knows that social problems can be solved not by individual action alone, but that they must have a social solution. In a word social service seeks to adjust the relations of men in justice and love; to know and to remove the causes and conditions of social evils; to prevent poverty, disease, crime, and misery; to guarantee every life such conditions as will enable it to grow up tall and straight and clean and pure, and to build a more human and worthy type of human society. If this definition is accepted, as I am sure it will be in its main outline by all social service workers, it will be easy to show why the Church should be interested in social service.

1. *The Kingdom of God on Earth.*—One of the most marked characteristics of our times is a new interest in the kingdom of God and a new conception of its meaning. In fact, so intense is this interest that it may be called the master thought of our time. And so new and significant is this conception of the kingdom that it is little else than a new revelation from heaven. It is not necessary here to consider the various conceptions that have prevailed during the past nineteen centuries, nor is it necessary to trace out the development of this conception in the thought of man. It is sufficient for our purpose to say that the kingdom of God as we now see may mean much more than a human society on earth, but it is certain that it can never mean anything less. The kingdom of God is a great and comprehensive ideal. It is a personal good and it is a social state. It is a good in time and it is no less a good in eternity. It comprehends the reign of God in men, over men, and through men. It includes the whole man and makes provision for

all of his needs. The kingdom of God is a great social synthesis which includes the whole life of man, spiritual, moral, mental, and physical; its field of manifestation is man's personal, family, social, political, and industrial relations; it finds its consummation so far as this world is concerned in a righteous and brotherly society on earth. The purpose of God as defined in the idea of the kingdom of God contemplates nothing less than the creation in this earth of a righteous, fraternal, and Christian society. For this reason all those conceptions of the kingdom which limit it to the person or push it far away in the future mistake a part for the whole and fall short of the whole truth of Christianity. For this reason also all those programs of the Church which contemplate anything less than the making of a new Christian social order fall below the program of the kingdom. The conception of the kingdom of God fairly commits the Church to the task of seeking a Christian type of human society.

2. *The Search for the Kingdom of God* implies an interest in the whole life of man. In much of the current thought concerning the kingdom of God there lurks a fallacy which bewilders many. It is admitted by all that the kingdom of God relates in some way to this world; and it is admitted also that people are to be members of this kingdom. But here many men stop thinking at all or begin to think in strange terms. The kingdom of God is a kingdom of people; it is a society of brothers; these people live in bodies, and they need food and wear clothes. Let us think these simple facts together for a moment. The kingdom of God is a fellowship of men who love God and live as brothers. "The Bible," says John Wesley, "knows nothing of a solitary religion." The kingdom of God is not an anarchy of good individuals, but a society of brothers. This by the very nature of the case assumes social relations among men. The worker who is instructed unto the kingdom of God is not only seeking to make good individuals, but he is seeking to associate these persons in just and Christian relations. The members of the kingdom are living men and women. Now the only people we know eat food, wear clothes, live

in houses, need fire in winter, live together in communities, are subject to physical conditions, are attacked by various diseases, and need about so many cubic feet of oxygen every twenty-four hours. These people, so long as they live in this world, must mine coal, smelt iron, cultivate the ground, transport commodities, and have some kind of social and industrial life. The only men we know are beings made up of spirit and body; not spirit alone or body alone, but spirit and body interdependent and interknit. For the present we know nothing of spirit apart from body. For the present, therefore, as Dr. Grenfell suggests: "The only way to reach the soul is through the body; for when the soul has cast off the body we cannot reach it at all."

What follows? That in all our thought of man we must think of him as he is, as a complex being of spirit and body in which the two are so intimately and inextricably related that each affects the others, and neither can be considered by itself alone. Another thing is this, that in all our effort for man's redemption and betterment we must take the whole man into account, and our effort will always be one-sided and in large part ineffective till we do this. We cannot save man in part by any piecemeal method. If the gospel brings a present salvation, it includes the body as well as the spirit. Any salvation that is real involves the saving of the whole man. Any salvation that is real affects all of his relations and conditions. Any other salvation than this is no salvation at all. A further thing is this, that in our effort for man's betterment we must take every factor of his life and every element of his condition into account and must include these in our Christian program. There is a right and a wrong kind of community life for man; there are helpful and there are injurious ways of building houses and of planning cities; there are safe and there are dangerous ways of mining coal and running machinery; there are just and unjust ways of transporting commodities and managing industries. Since these things all concern man and are related to his whole life they concern the Church worker and have a place in the kingdom program. We must either say that the member of the king-

dom is a spirit independent of the body, and that these social and industrial things we have mentioned lie wholly outside of the kingdom; or we must say that man is a being, a spirit, and a body, and everything that concerns man has a place in the kingdom.

3. *The Search for the Kingdom of God* demands social action no less than personal effort. This is implied in the nature of the kingdom and the being of man; but we may consider it from another side.

The great problem of to-day is the social problem. It is not primarily a personal problem, for the gospel has shown its power in the individual life. It is not wholly a political problem, for the advanced nations have gained political democracy. The problem of to-day is by preëminence the social problem, the problem how to associate men in right and helpful social relations, the problem how to bring greater happiness and larger opportunity to the least and lowliest of the race, the problem how to equalize opportunity and enable each life to realize its highest capabilities, the problem how to secure a more just and equitable distribution of the goods of life, the problem how to bring the disinherited into the Father's house and give them a fair inheritance in society. In any worthy and enduring commonwealth each life has its place and its work, and so society is neither just nor Christian till this life has found its place and is doing its work. The social problem is the problem how to use the resources of society in promoting the whole life of the people and thus enabling the laggards to march with the main army. The thing that concerns us here is this: the social problem can never be solved by individual action alone; the social problem must be solved by social action.

Again, philanthropic effort that begins and ends with individuals can never cure social evils. From the beginning Christianity has been a great philanthropic impulse, and in all generations it has outflowed in many beautiful forms of loving service. In these times the humanitarianism of Christendom has become most pronounced and the kindly spirit is manifesting itself in the varied forms of human

uplift. But this very activity of the philanthropic spirit creates a problem which is as vital as it is perplexing. In fact, there are students and workers not a few who declare that this effort is misdirected and that it is doing more harm than good. "There is nothing more dreadful than active ignorance," says Goethe, and much of our so-called charitable work illustrates this saying. At any rate it is becoming very plain that the present methods of philanthropy can never achieve the improvement of society—nay, more, it is becoming no less plain that some of this philanthropic helpfulness really complicates the problem and means the degeneracy of the race.

Two things may be noted in passing: Charity, rescue work, and prisons can never cure the things they are seeking to lessen. Charity is beautiful and may be necessary in many cases; but charity that does no more than feed the hungry is increasing the very thing it is trying to help. Charity that does not deal with causes can never solve the problem of poverty. The wise Frenchman was right who said: "Charity creates half the evils she relieves; but she cannot relieve half the evils she creates." Much so-called charity is simply a cheap evasion of duty. Much so-called charity is but a sop to a sentimental and unintelligent conscience. Rescue missions no doubt are Christian and may be necessary. But rescue missions alone can never save the city. We might have a rescue mission on every street corner in the city; but if that is all we do we cannot save the city within any measurable time. For while we are saving one poor outcast and are neglecting all preventive work a dozen other girls are being caught and dragged into the mire. The fact is that by the method of individual effort alone—that is, by dealing with results and neglecting causes—we can never achieve the redemption of man or build a Christian social order. It is very beautiful and Christian to build churches and conduct rescue missions; but while we are neglecting causes and are saving one poor outcast a dozen other girls are led astray through ignorance on their part or through neglect on the part of society and are sold into white slavery. It is very Christian to

nurse the sick and to equip a sanitarium for the consumptive; but what have we gained if while doing this work we have neglected home conditions and have permitted unsanitary tenements, thus allowing a dozen other lives to contract the white plague and to doom themselves to suffering and death? It is very Christian and very necessary to send missionaries to China and Africa; but while our Christian missionaries are making one convert for the kingdom the agents of the opium traffic are ensnaring a dozen men and are riveting the chains of the worst slavery upon their souls. It is very necessary that we seek to save lost men and women in the slums; but while we are saving one lost man a dozen children are growing up in demoralizing conditions, exposed to all kinds of evil suggestions, and forming habits which become a part of life itself. It is very right that we should preach the gospel of love and should work for individual souls; but unless we do something more than this and seek to make straight paths for children's feet and to mold their lives for the kingdom, a dozen lives will be warped and stained and their recovery thus made a hundredfold more difficult. The first of these things men ought to do, but the second of these things they must not leave undone.

What shall we do? What is demanded by this Sphinx riddle of our time? We must do far more than aim to keep the sickly alive and preserve the mal-endowed from inevitable extinction; we must do far more than remove hindrances from man's way and enable him to survive and propagate. We must do more than the works of charity, such as feeding the hungry, nursing the sick, keeping the weak alive, shielding the mal-endowed from destruction. We must now declare that every life shall begin its existence well-endowed and capable and strong. We must guarantee that there shall be no unfit and defective members in society to be a burden to themselves and to hinder the upward march of the race. We must create such conditions in society as shall make it possible for every life to grow up tall and strong and pure and fit. In a word, wise, Christian, philanthropic effort must be wider in its scope than

evangelism and personal regeneration; Christian charity must do more than build hospitals and run soup kitchens; it must deal with the causes of poverty and misery. That is to say, the Good Samaritan must become a social worker and must follow social methods and have social action.

But I must notice the other side of our subject, the relation of social service to the Church.

II. THE RELATION OF SOCIAL SERVICE TO THE CHURCH.

Life we have learned is a unit. Man can never be helped by any piecemeal method. To help man at any point we must help him at every point. To help man at every point is the best way to help him at any point. There are four chief items we have seen in the program of the kingdom. Notice how social service aids all of the other forms of Church work.

1. Social service is dealing with causes and seeking to transform man's community life in aiding most directly and potently the work of the evangelist. The Christian life we may admit can be lived in the most adverse conditions. Men may be won unto Christ and transformed in life even in city slums. But the best of men find it difficult enough to preserve their spiritual health under the very best conditions. How much more unlikely are weak and immature Christians to preserve their integrity when all the conditions are against them? Environment determines many things in life both before and after conversion. There are boys and girls in every community growing up in conditions which practically make impossible for them a clean and virtuous life. The grace of modesty is brushed from the soul of the little girl before she has even learned the meaning of purity, and the boy has become a rogue before he knows the value of honesty. This is not all, but the spiritual life has a physical basis, and it flourishes in so far as it has the soil in which to grow. To live a strong, healthy, vigorous, normal life a man must have sufficient oxygen for his lungs and proper food for his body. We say it reverently, but not even the grace of God can keep a man strong and devoted without sufficient pure air and nourishing food. Social service

recognizes the fact that the spiritual life has a physical basis, and it makes provision for that basis. It realizes that environment and atmosphere determine a hundred things in life both before and after conversion; and so it endeavors to secure for each life the best conditions possible.

The kingdom of God includes the whole life of man. A large part of our work consists in training lives for citizenship in the kingdom. Evangelism is necessary, but evangelism alone can never do this work. As a matter of fact the evangelist begins too far up the scale for his efforts to be most fully effective. We must begin with life at its beginnings and train it in virtue and goodness. It is most unfortunate that the gospel has been construed almost wholly in terms of rescue. It is an utter misconception of the gospel to suppose that it is here merely to save the outcast from the gutter and to reform drunkards. That gospel is here no less to save men from the swine trough and the gutter. Jesus Christ has come not alone to save men who are living in sin, but quite as truly to save men from sinning. Salvation may mean the saving of a man out of his sin; but it means also saving a man from doing sin. Salvation means the deliverance of a man from sin; but it means no less the whole work of saving a life and growing a soul. There is power in the gospel to rescue the jewel from the gutter and make it fit for the King's crown; but there is power in the gospel no less to keep the life out of the gutter and to build it up in virtue. One of the most pestiferous lies is the old saying, "It takes a great sinner to make a great saint." If that is true, Satan is the most promising candidate for sainthood, and the Lord Jesus made a mistake in living a sinless life. As a matter of fact, the great saints of the Church and the great servants of humanity have come not from the swine trough but from the family altar. There have been a great many saints we may admit who have come from the far country, but they are the exception and not the rule. The great apostle could say, "I have lived in all good conscience before God unto this day." Martin Luther could say, "Ich war immer ein frommer mensch." And let us not forget that the Son of

Man was fitter for his divine work by a sinless youth. The forgetfulness of this great truth has made much of the tragedy of life and is responsible for the sad neglect of religious training. By all means let us rescue the perishing and care for the dying; but with a divine urgency let us labor to train lives for the kingdom that they may never become outcasts and wastrels.

The time has come for us to construe the gospel, not in terms of rescue alone, but in terms of nurture. It is a great thing to see the degraded restored, to see the man once demon-possessed now clothed in his right mind and doing the will of God. But it is an even greater thing to see a life saved from evil and vice, growing up unto God in all things, unfolding its capacities and using all its powers and all of its years for the service of the world. Thus far we have assumed that the power of the gospel can be shown only in regenerating the depraved and renewing them in life. We are here to protest against this narrow conception and to say that the power of the gospel can be shown just as mightily and fully in keeping the life from the gutter and molding it for the kingdom of God. Thus social service which deals with causes and seeks to train lives in virtue is aiding directly the work of the Church.

2. Social service most directly and vitally assists the missionary. What is the most serious handicap and hindrance to-day that the missionary encounters in China and India, in Japan and Africa? It is the social, the industrial, the political conditions in Philadelphia and New York, Chicago and London, Paris and San Francisco. Tammany Hall is a familiar name to the people of India; Chicago's levee causes men to hiss in Turkey; the Philadelphia Ring makes people in Peking sneer; and Boston rum makes the people of Africa scoff at Christendom. "Why do you come to us?" men ask the missionaries. "Why do you not stay at home and make your own cities better? Look at London, your Christian city with one-third of the people dying in some public institution, an almshouse, a prison, or a hospital. Look at New York City, with ten per cent of its burials in the potter's field. Leave us alone till you may have some-

thing better than we. Get a better brand of religion before you export it." This is not all, but our paganism at home is blighting that of the heathen world. England is slowly seeking to atone for the unspeakable crime of forcing opium upon China; but we have not begun to repent of our crime of forcing rum and beer upon Africa and the Philippines. Some years ago Bishop Hartzell declared to a friend of mine that many times when he saw the havoc wrought by rum he was tempted to say that the Dark Continent would be better off if it never had seen the face of a white man. Some years ago Keshub Chunder Sen declared that for every Christian England had made in India she has made a hundred drunkards. To-day in Africa while the missionary with his Bible is making one Christian the rum dealer with his bottle is making a score of alcoholics. There is one duty which in a way overshadows all others: We as a people must see to it that the impact of Christendom upon heathendom shall be helpful and not harmful. Heathendom has vices enough of its own without borrowing any from Christendom. I think sometimes that the best place to do foreign missionary work is in Washington and London, Berlin and Paris. Thus we say that the men who are fighting the demons of graft and drink, corruption and death in this land are making it easier for the nations of earth to believe that our Christ is the Saviour of the world.

3. And social service is most intimately related to the work of education. We cannot here discuss the growth and development of man's mental and moral life. But it may be noted that man is a social being, and his whole mental, moral, æsthetic, and religious life has social conditions and causes. Man's consciousness, his language, his conscience, his habits and dress, and the very smile on his face are social products. Man's standards and ideals, his aspirations and purposes are all results and reflections of the ideals and standards of the society of which he is a part, and they are social before they are personal—nay, they are personal because they are social.

All this makes very plain the relation between social service and education. A large part of our work for man—

perhaps the largest and most potent part—consists in *creating such an atmosphere as shall induce the right kind of life*. Would we have men and women habitually think good thoughts, cherish the right ideals, and choose the right ways? Then we must have boys and girls grow up in an atmosphere that is pure and good. Would we have men be pure and brave, seeking the things that are right and living unselfish lives? Then we must have boys and girls live and breathe in an atmosphere of heroism and purity where men practice justice and are expected to be unselfish. Would we have boys and girls grow up to be good citizens in the State, to live for the common good, and to choose the right by a kind of instinct? Then we must give them a chance to play and to do teamwork; we must surround them with good influences and must lift up high ideals of citizenship. Would we have the young accept the Christian life as a matter of course and find in the kingdom their true home? Then we must surround them with a Christian atmosphere and must have them breathe in the very air of the kingdom. Thus social service in seeking to eliminate from society the things that may suggest disorder and impurity, to strengthen in society the influences of justice and of goodness, is proving a most important aid in the work of education.*

III. THE CO-ORDINATION OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

It is necessary that we see the relation between the Church and other agencies of social redemption and that we coördinate these on some harmonious basis. Confusion here means confusion all along the line; friction here is as wasteful as it is unchristian. According to the gospel record the activity of Jesus was manifested in three directions: He preached the good news of the kingdom, he helped the needy, and he cast out demons. To his disciples he gave the charge and promise: "The work that I do shall ye do also, and greater works than these shall ye do, because I go unto my Father." Twice at least he sent out companies of disciples to extend his work; and in both cases the directions

*Batten, "The Social Task of Christianity," pp. 164-173.

are substantially the same: They are to preach, saying, "The kingdom of God is at hand"; to heal the sick, and to cast out demons (Matt. x. 1-8; Luke x. 1-10). It may be noted that the disciples fulfilled this threefold ministry, and they so reported to the Master.

The first item in this commission the disciples in all ages have accepted and in a way they have sought to fulfill it. In all generations there has been a succession of evangelists and preachers whose calling has been honored and whose work has been successful. The second and third items in the commission the disciples generally have not accepted and have not fulfilled. And yet these are no less a part of Christ's program and are no less vital in the progress of the kingdom. Preaching the gospel is one of the divine means of extending the kingdom, but it is not the only means; the other means are just as vital and just as Christian. It is just as important that men cast out demons and take up stumblingblocks as that they preach the gospel to men and women. It is just as Christian to make straight paths for men's feet lest that which is lame be turned out of the way, and to secure for all the conditions of a human and healthful life, as to teach men the Bible and to seek the salvation of their souls. In all times we have honored the work of the preacher and we have done well. Preaching is a divine means for winning the world unto God; but it is not the only or the exclusive way. The apostles mention the various workers given by the Christ to his Church: Apostles, prophets, teachers, workers, gifts of healing, helpers, governments, tongues. (1 Cor. xii. 28-30; Eph. iv. 9-14.) It is time that we have done with the notion that preaching is the only method of making the kingdom and that the preacher is the whole Church at work. The grace of God can reach men through other channels than that of preaching. The power of the gospel can become effective in more ways than one. The whole life of man needs the grace of Christ. To say that this grace can reach men through one channel alone is to limit that grace and starve the life of men. Without hesitation and without qualification we say that Jesus Christ alone is the hope of the

world and the power of redemption. But with no less confidence, without any equivocation, we say that the whole grace of Christ must be brought to bear upon the whole life of man and the power of the gospel can flow out to men through other channels than preaching. This is true of the work of the worker at home, and no less true of the missionary abroad. In fact, we are ready to believe that the work of extending the kingdom of God in non-Christian lands will be advanced by leaps and bounds when the missionary seeks to touch life on all sides and to give man the whole blessing of the kingdom. The frank and full recognition of this truth is most vital to-day. In fact, this is the truth as it is in Christ which the Spirit is showing unto the men of this generation. This is the age of the social gospel, and to slight this gospel is to close the ears to the Spirit's voice. We ask therefore that social service be recognized as a necessary part of the Christian program and that it be placed on an equality with the other lines of interest and activity. We ask also that the Churches seek to prepare workers for this line of service no less than for preaching and teaching and missionary service. The social service worker is the peer of the soul winner and the missionary. Social service is not an addition to the gospel; still less is it a substitute for it. Rather it is an essential and necessary part of the Christianity of Christ; hence it has a legitimate and equal place in the program of the kingdom beside the work of evangelism and missions.

This brings us face to face with one of the most vital questions in our social service work. How far is the Church as an institution called to engage in the varied and vital forms of social effort? How far should the Church seek to adapt itself and create machinery for doing the work that needs to be done in the line of social service? I cannot discuss this question in detail, but one or two things may be noted.

The Church is one of the great institutions of man's life that are divine in origin and in meaning. The family and the State, no less than the Church, are here in the will of God and have a divine function to fulfill in the economy of

life. Each is implied in the nature of man and each is an agency through which man seeks the kingdom of God. Each is a means through which man climbs the ascent of progress and each is a means through which the purpose of God is realized among men. These three institutions have a different form and serve a different function, but they all serve man's welfare and promote human redemption. They all seek the same end, the kingdom of God and the welfare of man; but each has its own separate function and distinct method. The Church is the institute of faith and hope; its special function is to testify of God and of his kingdom; to hold up the Christian ideal in the sight of all men, to inform the mind, to arouse the conscience of the people, to hearten them for courageous living, and then to send them forth, thus taught, inspired, and impelled, to hunger after justice, to seek the kingdom and its righteousness, and to build on earth a Christian social order. The family is the institute of love and trust; its special function is to mold the life for the kingdom, to be a school of social living, to train the growing life in the practice of self-sacrifice and mutual aid, and then to send forth its members to seek through the family the perfection of the race and to serve as good citizens in the civil State. The State is the institute of rights and duties; its special function is to maintain justice in human relations, to seek after righteousness in society, to provide the conditions for a human, moral, and spiritual life, to embody in its order the abiding principles of the kingdom, righteousness and peace in the Holy Spirit, and then to send forth its citizens to hallow God's name, to seek his kingdom and to do his will in all the masterful institutions of their social and political life.

The frank recognition of the fact that the family and the State, equally with the Church, are divine institutions with a divine function, will save us from much misunderstanding on the one hand, and will broaden our vision on the other. Much is gained when we have recognized the fact that in the kingdom of God there is a division of labor among these three great institutions. The Church has a necessary function to fulfill in the redemption of man and

the making of the kingdom; and the family and the State are no less necessary. The Church alone can never do the whole work of the kingdom; in and through the Church alone society can never be saved and the kingdom of God can never come. The Church is a divine institution, with a great and necessary function; but the Church at best is only one of several divine institutions, all of which are necessary to man's moral life and social perfection. The Church cannot do the work of the State, and neither can do the work of the family. This is the conclusion of the matter: There must be a division of labor on the part of these institutions with the most hearty coöperation on the part of them all.

The Church is not called to conduct a nursery, to run a detective bureau, to be a civic club, and in my judgment the Church falls from its first best to its second best when it does these things. But the Church is called to teach and train men and women in the art of home-making; it must arouse and inspire men to go forth and be good citizens in the community; it must be a moral dynamic which will compel every public official to do his duty in the fear of God. The Church is the moral powerhouse for the community; and a Church that is failing here is failing in its primary function. The Church must hold up before men the ideal of the kingdom of God which is the ideal of a righteous and brotherly human society; it must teach men the whole will of God as it applies to all the relations of life; it must inform the mind, train the insight, and discipline the will; and then it must send men forth to be good husbands and fathers, good sons and brothers, good citizens and voters, good mechanics and farmers, good captains of industry and civic officials. And in all and through all the Church must make men know that service in and through the family and the State is just as Christian and as religious as service in and for the Church. Another thing: The Church is to coöperate with all the other agencies of human uplift. The time was when practically all of the educational, philanthropic, and reform work was done in and by the Church. But in the past generation or two there have grown up outside the Church many forms of organized

service, all good and many necessary. Some of these organizations are doing their work in the name of the Church; but many of them have *no* connection with the Church, and some of them frankly disown all connection with the Church. The Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association have semiofficial relation to the Church; the same is true of the Anti-Saloon League and the Civic Federation; but many other organizations, as the Civic League, the Juvenile Court, the Charity Organization, the Prison Association, are wholly independent; the public school is separated from the Church, and many people are determined to keep Church and school apart. Whether it was wise to create these organizations outside of the Churches it is now too late for us to consider. Whether the inefficiency of the Churches did not make these organizations necessary we need not here discuss. It is a condition and not a theory that confronts us now. The fact is there are scores of organizations outside of the Churches, and many of them are doing a most useful and necessary work. Whether the Churches shall now seek to widen their doors a little and bring these organizations back into their fold it is also too late for us to consider. Such a course is impossible even if it were advisable. Whether the Churches, now repenting of their past neglect, shall seek to create the necessary machinery from within and thus duplicate the work of these organizations, is hardly open to debate. Such a course is inadvisable even if it were possible. It is too late now for the Churches to bring these organizations back within their fold; in fact, this is not the desirable thing even if it were the possible thing. There are three things for the Church to do at this time: accept the fact that a division of labor is necessary, gladly admit that these organizations are doing an essentially religious work, and then heartily coöperate with them.

The fact that so many organizations now exist outside the Churches is no reason why the Churches should complain. The fact that these organizations, though engaged in a helpful and necessary work, do not bear the name of Christ is no reason why the Churches should stand aside with indif-

ference, if not with suspicion. Nay, the churches should rather rejoice that this work is being done so fully, thus leaving the Churches free for their vital and essential work. The churches should coöperate most heartily with all of these agencies of human uplift, however, and seek to promote their fullest efficiency. The Churches can know what these agencies are doing; they can keep in close touch with them and can find in them a channel through which the devotion of Christian people can flame forth. The Churches can do more than this, and can have committees on conference with the public school leaders, with the city administration, with the Police Department, with the Juvenile Court and many other organizations. The public school is here and is doing a most important work. It is most unfortunate when school people and Church workers regard one another with suspicion. The Police Department can do much that is good and much that is evil for the city, and whether it is the one or the other may depend in a large part upon the coöperation and aid of the Church people. The time has been when the Police Department and the Churches have regarded one another with suspicion, if not with opposition. It is far better for the Churches to coöperate with the Police Department, to know what it is doing, to give it counsel and coöperation instead of denunciation and suspicion. We have almost expected the Police Department to be corrupt and inefficient; the fact that we have expected it is one reason why we have so often found it. The Police Department has seldom found the Churches sympathetic; but at every turn they have met suspicion and opposition. If the Churches should take an interest in the Police Department, they might render great service; if they should coöperate in a sympathetic way, better men would soon be found on the police force. If they coöperated with the Police Department, they would soon find some open opportunities for large and fruitful service.* After all, what is a Church for and when is it efficient? The Church is here to seek the kingdom of God, to serve men, to give its treasures of love and grace to the world. Unfor-

*Cutting, "The Church and Society," chapters 2, 3.

tunately, however, some Churches have not so understood their mission; in too many instances they have gone on the theory that they are here to receive and not to give. The Churches may well "remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive." The Churches may well heed the solemn warning of the Master: "He that findeth his life shall lose it: and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it."

The Church is here to give itself to the world and to lose itself for the sake of the kingdom. The Church loses its Christian character and becomes a mere social club or a group of Sadducees whenever it makes itself an end and gathering into itself from the world and seeking its own upbuilding as the goal. The misconceptions of this truth, the failures at this point have been many, and have wrought incalculable mischief to the Churches and immeasurable woe to the world. Too often, as Ruskin suggests, bishops have sought power rather than light; too often they have sought to be fed and feted: when they are charged to feed and shepherd the sheep. Too often men have asked: "How far will this effort help our Church and contribute to its upbuilding in wealth and numbers?" Too often they have taken little interest in measures and efforts that promised no returns to the Church and yielded no results in Church statistics. Too seldom have men seen that they who possess the Spirit of Christ and live for his kingdom are to regard position and honor as a standing ground from which to reach forth to serve mankind. Too seldom the Churches have asked: "What can we do to help the world and lose ourselves for its sake?" The true and Christian idea of the Church and its relation to the kingdom would work a complete revolution in the plans and methods of the average Church and would send it forth to spend and be spent for men. The fact is that the Church that gives most is the Church most fully Christian. The Church that gives men the largest measure of service is the Church that men will honor.

And this will show very clearly what is meant by Church efficiency and Church success. How far is the Church responsible for community conditions? When can we say that

a Church is doing its appointed work? When slums grow in the city, when graft reigns, when government is corrupt, when womanhood is wronged, when children are robbed of childhood and are exploited in industry, when social evil flourishes, saloons prosper and are undisturbed, the Churches should realize that they have been neglectful and unfaithful; and they should then confess their sins and bring forth fruits meet for repentance. The success of a Church is measured not by the eloquence of its preaching, the size of its congregation, the amount of its budget, or the respectability of its people. But the Church is efficient when men and women under its influences are living brave, pure, honest, unselfish lives; it is successful when its people are going out to do a day's work for a day's wage, to be faithful physicians, justice-seeking lawyers, unselfish housekeepers, merchants who think more of their customer's welfare than of their own profits; it is efficient and successful when the community life is becoming purer, sweeter, and more wholesome, when stumblingblocks are being taken up out of the way, when boy traps and girl traps are disappearing, when slums are being cleansed, when honesty and efficiency are found in civic affairs, when captains of industry use their talents planning coöperative industries and seek not the advantage of the few but the profit of the many, when in a word the city is becoming safer, purer, more Christian, more heavenly.

Social service comes to men with a most vital message and it calls men to a most inspiring task. The Son of Man has come, according to his own simple and yet comprehensive phrase, "not to judge the world, but to save the world." He has come to save the world—not a part of it, not a segment of man's being, not a number of people out of the mass; he has come to save the world in every part and process, the physical world, the social world, to redeem the man and to redeem his environment, to make new men and to make a new community. Any ideal less than this is less than the ideal of Christ. Any program that stops short of this falls below the program of the kingdom. To save the world, to make a sweeter, brighter, gladder world, a safer

world for boys and girls to grow up in, a happier world for men and women to pass through, a brighter world for departing saints to look back upon, to make straight paths for men's feet, to build on earth the city of God—this is the task which gives meaning to the life, this is a task to make the heart throb, this is an adventure worthy of the Son of Man and the sons of God. It is for us to reconceive the essential gospel, the kingdom of God on earth, to accept our commission in all its length and breadth, and then to set about the task of building the city of God among men.

The time has come for all who pray, "Our Father who art in heaven; thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven," to strike hands in a determined campaign to make Jesus Christ a FACT in the social world. The time has come for men to outline a positive, constructive, sociological and Christian program of action and make all their efforts tonic and fruitful. In a word, the time has come to apply the principles of the gospel to the whole life of man—personal, social, economic, industrial, political, international. For the sake of Christ we must undertake this work. For the sake of men we must accept our commission. To prove that the gospel is the power of God unto salvation, not only of men, but of the world, we must fulfill this task.

The conclusion of the whole matter is this: Christian men are called to accept the ideal of the kingdom of God and then to realize that ideal in human society; they are to love men and to help them whenever they need help; they are to write out their conscience in city ordinances and civil statutes; they are to dedicate their intelligence and power to the task of creating better civic conditions; they are to build their faith and love into systems and social institutions; in a word they are to make the kingdom of God a FACT in the whole life of the world—

"Till upon earth's grateful sod
Rests the city of our God."

THE SOCIAL TASK OF THE MODERN CHURCH

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WHAT Christ said about God and man and life is to-day unquestioned and standard everywhere. The way he felt toward the defenseless, the sinning, and the outcast is the noble and true attitude. The life he lived among men and the work he did of rescue and help for all who had need make the one unmarred and wholly beautiful page of the long human story. All dogmatic and theological considerations apart, Christ legislates for the modern world, and the modern world accepts his law as supreme. His mind, his moral attitude, and his life fix the authoritative standard from which there is no dissent or appeal. He is at once the judge and the hope of the world.

Now, a Christian Church is an organized community of those who accept Christ as Saviour and Lord, who are committed to his ideal. It is the mother, nurse, and trainer of the Christian life, an agency through which the Christian impulse may express itself in worship, in the realization of the personal ideal of Christian character and service, and of the social ideal of the kingdom of God on earth. In short, the Church is the great instrument of the kingdom for winning its universal sway.

The organization of the Church was at first very simple, for it was little more than a joyous fellowship in the memory of Jesus. He himself had given the little band whom he had trained no plan of organization, had said nothing about it. He was content to trust the new life which he had inspired to find its fit external embodiment in spontaneous adjustment to varied conditions. Even in Jerusalem it met an acute social situation and took the first steps of its formal organization in response to a local social demand; deacons were appointed to make effective the Christian impulse in the care of a dependent section of the community. As the Churches multiplied, arising each

one in its own field, many were poorly equipped for their work and isolated, and seemed to require more elaborate organization and centralization of control. At length the official unity of an organized hierarchy took the place of the spiritual unity of the independent Churches. A priesthood assuming to be the depositary of the apostolic inheritance and the custodian of the truth and grace of the gospel was influential in separating religious interests from the social interests of the whole community. Its most earnest members withdrew from the world and cultivated the spiritual life in seclusion. They were the representatives of idealism and religion, which they divorced from the practical life of men, and the chief interest common to the Christian leaders of the time was the cultivation of Christian metaphysics rather than service to human need. The Reformation, which Harnack considers the most beneficent movement since the second century, restored to the Christian world a religion without ceremonies and superstitions and ascetics—a spiritual religion with an earthly task—and opened the way for a fresh and original look at the purpose of Jesus for the personal and social life of man.

What have we found that purpose to be? What does Jesus contemplate? What is his aim and proposition? What task did he set his successors and representatives?

One thing we have found quite certainly—namely, the sphere of his dominant interest. He moved not in the sphere of metaphysical subtleties, but in the sphere of moral relations. We have, moreover, discovered somewhat of the content of the kingdom of God, which was the great theme of his teaching. We have not yet fathomed the depths of its meaning or completed the inventory of its blessings for men, and its exact place in relation to the functions and the apparatus of civil government we may hesitate to define with precision. But we do know that it is an all-embracing social ideal to be realized in the field of human society. It is the will of God operative and controlling in the individual and social life, "the world of invisible laws by which God is ruling and blessing his creatures." In the thought of Jesus, the kingdom of God is not formal or institutional;

it is not a divine society set over against or supplanting the family, the State, or any type of industrial or political organization. It is rather a social spirit which will transfigure them all.

What, it may be asked, has been the fate of this great ideal of Jesus? Did it lodge in the human mass and prove contagious there? Are there any achievements to its credit?

As we have seen, it suffered from obscurity in the course of Christian history, and yet it was never wholly fallen out of Christian thought. It "worked," even when it was hidden. From Jerusalem it passed with Paul out into the heart of Greek and Roman civilization. He applied in Galatia and Corinth, for example, the principles of the kingdom to the solution of social questions arising within the Christian community, but he led no general reform in society outside. He insisted that Christians must obey the law and do the duties of good citizenship, and profound social changes outside the Christian community resulted from the ideals of social life and obligation cultivated within it. The Christian family set a new standard for the pagan family. The Christian principle of the equality of men and women before God undermined the pagan conception of the inferiority of woman. There was no Christian propaganda for the abolition of slavery, which as an unchallenged social institution was the universal blight of the pagan world; but when early Christianity in the splendid statesmanship of Paul obliterated the distinction between bond and free and treated slaves as brothers, it planted in society the leaven which would ultimately transform the mass so thoroughly as to make slavery an impossibility. Social impurity often intrenched in religious sanctions was obnoxious to the new standard, and pagan and Christian society were transformed together.

In this way, the way of leaven, has the ideal of Jesus operated through all the later time as a purifying and corrective force. Its practical achievements are the most precious of our social possessions. They may be but barely mentioned: the Christian man as the standard type of manhood, the Christian home, the Christian Church, the Chris-

tian school, the Christian government—that is, the humane and democratic government which recognizes the Christian standard of fraternity and justice—and all the organizations and institutions for social betterment which, whether in formal alliance with organized Christianity or not, are the children of the kingdom.

But we are called to consider the present situation and the social task before the Church of to-day. Think first of the Church itself. It must be admitted that a considerable section of the modern Church is still absorbed in the philosophical explanation of Christianity and the triumph of this or that set of intellectual conceptions. The field of its practical effort is narrowed to an individualistic evangelism, plucking brands from the burning, saving souls, as many as may, out of an evil and doomed world.

Another section of the modern Church, rapidly growing now, is just as earnest in evangelism, but seeks to save men, not out of the world, but for the world. It sends Christian back to his City of Destruction to transform it into the City of God. It recognizes the kingdom of God as the ideal of a regenerate human society and welcomes the widening opportunity of the present hour to give it practical sway. It sees its task and flies to take it up with passion and a boundless hopefulness. Its only question is, whether for the sake of effective adaptation to the new situation the organization of the Church needs to be carried farther. Are there phases of the complex life of the time presenting to the Church a field of work for which appropriate apparatus is yet to be developed? It will probably be agreed that the inherent expansiveness of the Christian life may be trusted now, as Jesus trusted it at the first, to add spontaneously any needed equipment for its new ministry. It will be agreed, further, that there is now little danger of the historical perversion from which the Reformation recovered us. The early Church was faithful to its Lord when, in an environment favorable to the ministry to individuals, it organized itself simply. The Church of to-day, in an environment favorable to the ministry to society, is likewise faithful in a more elaborate organization.

Illustrations of the Church's fresh interest in varied social ministries may be cited briefly. Many individual Churches maintain a variety of institutions to meet the social needs of the community. Larger Christian bodies composed of individual Churches have in recent years committed themselves to specific social programs, as the Presbyterian Assembly, the Congregational Council, the Northern Baptist Convention, the Methodist Federation of Churches for Social Service, and the Federation of the Churches of Christ in America (representing thirty-five minor bodies and twenty million members). Local Sunday schools are adding classes in applied Christianity, and theological seminaries are making room in the curriculum for sociology on a footing of equal respectability with the history of Christian metaphysics.

If we turn from the Church to look at the field into which it is called, we discover it to be large and ready for the tilth. The Christian sense of brotherhood confronts a society of brotherhoods. The Church with a social mission comes into a world of social movements. Aim and opportunity meet and fit. This is the age of conference and coöperative association — scientific, educational, agricultural, industrial, political. Social service itself, unattached to any religious organization, is already on the ground to welcome the new ally of the Church. Its equipment and importance justify its claim to be a profession. Twenty-six training schools in the country offer courses in social service. Universities like Washington, in St. Louis, provide fellowships in social service. In England public health officials are recognized by diplomas, and our own Harvard, Michigan, and Wisconsin universities and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology now confer not only the degree of Ph.D., but also the degree of D.P.H. (Doctor of Public Health). All of which goes to show that the newly recognized responsibility of the Church is to be discharged in a congenial atmosphere under favoring conditions.

In reality the social task of the modern Church is the same as that of the early Church, the task of realizing the will of God in all human life. And the method is the old

method, the method of a beneficent contagion, the method of a pervasive renovation. Social righteousness is to be attained through the leaven of individual righteousness. Social life is to be cleansed by cleansing the life of the social unit; for moral evil is the root of all social wrong. When children, out of the clatter of looms and the whir of wheels, stagger to bed as the sun rises to bless their play, you face not an industrial problem, but a moral problem—that is to say, a religious problem. When “crime and hunger cast our maidens by the thousand on the street,” the world hands you out what it calls a social problem. It is a moral—that is to say, a religious—problem. When your public servants prostitute official position to private ends, or combine to favor a class at the expense of the mass, you meet, not a political, but a moral problem—that is to say, a religious problem. No factory inspection or minimum wage, no new scheme of election, of publicity, or of impeachment will correct the injustice or check the graft. New *people* are wanted, and nothing else will do. You do not improve the milk by pouring it out of earthenware into cut glass.

It is precisely here that the modern Church finds its fundamental task. It will do nothing unless it do this deepest thing—transform the personal life, infect it with the ideal of the kingdom, train it for the work of the kingdom.

But fundamental as is this work of individual renewal and inspiration, it does not exhaust the social responsibility of the Church. There are specific forms of social activity upon which it is called to enter in its organized capacity. In the case of some, whose agencies and apparatus it does not control, its participation is indirect, but none the less important. I refer to the distinctively social service departments of the municipality and the State, as public health, charities, police, education, which need the criticism, sympathy, support, and coöperation of the Church. These departments of government are the regular channels of community action, and in common with the Church are concerned with the social good. The aloofness of the Church has all too frequently given the forces of evil the oppor-

tunity which they are never slow to seize. While it retains without compromise its own independence, the Church is called to influence legislation by protest and petition. Let us be clear. We must remember that a suggested political policy in the establishment of his kingdom was precisely what Jesus repudiated under most solemn sanctions. His Church cannot enter politics. It would hardly seem necessary to add that nobody is so foolish as to think that people can be made good by legislative act. But legislation can suppress unrighteous practices, it can restrain wicked men, defend the helpless, and "give life its opportunity." The Church must protest against the traffic in all racial poisons, against commercialized vice, against the layer of filth spread over all life by an irresponsible section of the press, against child labor, against the ignorance and inhumanity of much prison discipline, against all the enemies of human life which are permitted to infest the dark alleys of society.

But the Church has a direct responsibility in the creation of public opinion where the social welfare is involved; it is the guide and inspirer of the social life of its neighborhood; it is officially in charge of the whole sphere of recreation and of religious education.

To summarize: The local Church is responsible for the regeneration of the men and women about it and for the regeneration of the society in the midst of which it stands as a city set on a hill. Its mission is to relieve suffering and to remove the cause of it, to forestall the increase of defectives and dependents, to check the havoc wrought by disease among the effective agents of the kingdom, to clean out the nests of vice, to fight in a heroic and relentless war every enemy of the life of man, to pluck up moral evil which is everywhere the root of social unrighteousness—in short, to make its community a little province of the kingdom of God.

HOW TO RELATE CHURCH ACTIVITIES TO SOCIAL SERVICE

THE RIGHT REVEREND ROBERT STRANGE, BISHOP OF THE
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WHAT is the Church? A group of individuals, a collection of saved souls, of like faith and order, who come together to worship God after their own mode. Their chief work is to gather in individual sinners, to make them better people, and to save them hereafter.

What is the Church? An organization put into the world by Jesus Christ and his apostles, the body of Christ, the hospital for the sin-sick, into which men are to be initiated by baptism and to be fed spiritually by the holy communion. Its chief work is to honor God and Christ by preaching of his power, wisdom, and love; to train men for the best life here, and to fit them for the kingdom of heaven hereafter.

What is the Church? The two ideas above-mentioned are right and important as far as they go. But whether the Church was organized by Christ to gather in and to train individuals, or whether it is a free gathering together of individuals, to praise God and to save men, the chief work of the Church is here and now in this world. This work is to save society; it is so to modify man's environment as to make it more easy for him to become Christ-like in character; it is to bring its mighty influence to bear on society and government so as to insure justice between man and man, and to make the conditions of life more tolerable, more righteous, and more happy. In other words, the Church or parish is not so much a minister's field in which he is to work as his machinery with which he is to work the community, the city, or State for the advancement of the kingdom of God.

The weakness of the first idea of the Church is that it tends to concentrate a Christian man's thought too much on himself, on his own salvation, on his own methods.

The weakness of the second is that it tends to turn man's thought too much on the Church, on its authority and power, to rely too much on the Church's way, and pay too much attention to formal worship for his salvation. This third idea of the Church is forcing itself more and more into the minds and hearts of men. They are agreeing that life means opportunity to serve. They are coming to realize more and more that the Church is God's great instrument, great organization for righteousness and happiness, that it is meant for man, that its work is to help man, not only as an individual, but as a whole body, in every way to beat down sin and to increase human betterment.

Christ Jesus says that the Church is the light of the world, to light men on the true pathway of living; the Church is the salt to cleanse and purify the world. What is the Church then doing to-day? What can we, her true members, do to make the world of men truer to God's ideal, freer from the influence of the devil? "There is the labor problem; there is poverty; there is the drink habit; there is the working of little children, of women and mothers. Why does not the Church do something in these great matters?" Why? First, there is the wrong idea of the Church, and of what is her proper work on earth. Secondly, there is indifference among her clergy and laity. Thirdly, there is lack of knowledge of the true condition of things, of the real facts in the case. Fourthly, the Church herself is so divided, she has so many different voices, that there is no voice clear enough and strong enough to lead.

So we Christian men and women must awake from our indifference and grow to be our brother's keeper; we must study Holy Scripture and see what God has put the Church on earth to do, and ask how we can help; we must study the special social conditions of our own community, so that we can help intelligently; and, lastly, we must get together, not for my sake, not for the Church's sake, but we must get together for man's sake. Thought and talk of Church unity are in the air; they are in all conferences of Christians; they are in the prayers of men; they are, I believe, the mighty influence of the Holy Spirit at work.

The best way that has been yet suggested for Church unity is to get together in the beginning for work. Select some matter of real importance to mankind, some matter on which all men can agree; and let us all get together, shoulder to shoulder, heart to heart, to carry that through. Let us arouse the Christian conscience on that one line; let us press the power of this aroused Christian conscience, which has awakened to this condition, on every power that can help, political and social. Thus we learn to know and to trust and to love one another; and so steadily the unity of the spirit and unity of action will lead on toward unity of organization.

One night on a railroad train an influential member of the legislature said to me: "Dr. Strange, if you Christian men will just get together on one clear policy in any social question, and go before your lawmakers, they will do what you ask." Let me tell you how we tried to carry out that advice in two instances in our own State:

Some twenty-five years ago I went to Wilmington, my native city, to become the rector of the chief Episcopal Church there. I soon became troubled over the problem of poverty: There were beggars at the door and on the streets; the Churches lapped over one another in their charity; the County Commissioners were puzzled over the outdoor poor. I went to see the Presbyterian minister, discussed the situation; and we agreed on the outline of a plan for remedy. Then we called on the Methodist minister, then in turn on the Baptist and Lutheran ministers, on the Roman Catholic priest, and, finally, on the Jewish rabbi. All of us agreed to work together. We then picked out half a dozen prominent laymen in the different Churches and talked the matter over with them. A layman and I were sent to the Board of County Commissioners to lay our plan before them, to ask them to indorse it, and to appoint our organization their agent for the relief of the outdoor poor. They agreed to our appeal. We met together, organized as the Associated Charities of Wilmington, elected our officers and directors, and began our work. That organization is to-day the most highly respected and efficient philanthropic agency in our city.

Nearly ten years ago our State divorce laws had fallen into disrepute among our best people. A great many causes were allowed for divorce. Bishop Cheshire, the Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of North Carolina, determined to try to do something. He went before his convention and laid his plans before them. They passed resolutions and appointed committees. He wrote to the Council of East Carolina, and to me as soon as I was elected bishop. He then went in person before the Baptist Association and the Methodist Conference. They met him on common ground with the kindest consideration; they passed appropriate resolutions and appointed earnest committees. We brought the matter up before our next legislature. The Christian conscience of the State was aroused and had become all-powerful. Our lawmakers assented to our proposals by making them the laws of the State. When that legislature adjourned, only one cause was sufficient in the State of North Carolina for legal divorce; and that was the scriptural cause laid down by the Lord himself.

We have been trying for some years in North Carolina for better child labor laws, laws that will give better protection to children and to women. All right-thinking people who have studied the situation from an unbiased standpoint agree that we need them. It is a matter, we think, on which all good men agree. The chief objection comes from some of our selfish manufacturers, and from the class courtesy of the others; so that the manufacturers as a whole bring their powerful influence to bear on our legislature. Now, we wish to oppose this influence with another and a stronger; and that is the awakened, intelligent Christian conscience of the Church of Christ in the State. We will lay out a simple plan on which all can agree; we will arouse this Christian conscience; we will go before association, conference, convention, and council; we will send out agents to every country Church; when the legislature convenes in Raleigh, we will have representatives from all the great Christian bodies there; and we will put such a moral pressure on our legislators that they will pass laws which will make the conditions of our children and women workers more tolerable, more comfortable, and more righteous.

How shall we relate Church activities to social service, how bring together all branches of the Christian Church to make its mighty influence really felt, how make human life juster, sweeter, and more righteous? See what is needed; provide a simple remedy which all men will see; talk to your nearest influential friends in your Church; go together to your minister, and then with him to another, and another, and another minister; and so the matter will spread and a fire will be kindled which neither man nor devil can quench. The Word of God is made flesh, and dwells among us. The Holy Spirit is in every man. What you are thinking on these great matters of human woe and human joy other Christian men are thinking through the influence of the same Spirit. Work and pray together; and, with the Divine Helper, there are no limits to your power for good.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL AGENCY

REV. F. M. CROUCH, FIELD SECRETARY, JOINT COMMISSION ON
SOCIAL SERVICE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

ONE of the most vital questions of the present day is how to socialize education. For some generations we have estimated the value of educational systems according to their capacity for preparing the pupil for individual success, in terms of money, power, fame, or position. Until we shall displace this ideal with the newer and better ideal of social service, we shall be sending our boys and girls, our young men and young women, to school and college largely in vain.

This has an immediate bearing on the problem of the Sunday school. For some time the Sunday school has been utilizing pedagogical principles and apparatus of instruction first evolved in secular education. We are coming to see the radical need of revision of the Sunday school curriculum itself. We have been teaching religion in the old-fashioned way. We have been employing appeals which

have been discredited by modern psychology. We are now learning the use that can be made of the altruistic impulses of adolescence, and are beginning to adapt our religious education to that end. We are further realizing the prime importance of motor education—the education of the brain cells whose functioning produces action. In view of all this, social instruction and opportunity for at least elementary social service are alike vital to present-day religious education. We must teach our Sunday school pupils their duty to society and give them an opportunity to perform it.

SOCIAL INSTRUCTION

In the first place, full weight must be given to the social implications of the biblical material. We have been presenting the Bible too long from the individualistic point of view. We have been making religion too entirely a matter of the relation of the individual soul to God without reference to its relation to its fellows. Now we are beginning to see that the social aspect of the Bible must be presented to the growing boy and girl if we are to give them a fair conception of what our religion really means. Certain sections of the Bible are, of course, eminently fitted for just this kind of instruction. The prophets, notably Amos, Isaiah, and Micah, are splendid material for the interpretation of religious principles as applied to the life of society in the age in which the prophets lived—an age which to the average child, taught by average methods, seems totally alien to the present.

We have the opportunity to revive the spirit of the prophets and to revivify their age if we will make use of the means at our disposal for the interpretation of the social aspects of their teachings.* In other words, let us, for the benefit of the growing boy and girl, interpret the prophet in terms of his own day. Let us see how the prophet conceived religion, not in terms of ritual or of ceremonial, not in terms of fasting and services, but in

*George Adam Smith's "Isaiah" and "Book of the Twelve;" and Professor MacFadyen's "Cry for Justice," to mention no more, are valuable for this purpose.

terms of actual service of one's fellow men. Let us recognize how he thundered against the abuses of his day, how he championed the rights of the common people against their exploiters, priests or nobility, and then let us make the application of his teaching to the vital needs of our own day. The comparison is not far to seek: the conditions which obtain in this dawn of the twentieth century in America are beginning to demand a modern Amos who will dare to speak his parable from God in no uncertain tones against those in seats of authority who are, for their own benefit, denying to men, women, and children the rights and privileges which they themselves enjoy and would not willingly let slip.

But the writings of the prophets are not the only social material in the Bible. We must read the Gospels afresh. Let us see the Son of Man engaged in a crusade not only against the powers of the personal, individual evil which alone we are too prone to call sin, but against the iniquities of the established order of his day—against priests, scribes, Pharisees, Roman magistrates. It might not be advisable to put such a book as Bouck White's "The Call of the Carpenter" into the hands of the boys or girls in our Sunday schools, but the teacher of sanity and devotion who is at all fitted to teach the Bible as it needs to be taught in this day may profit from the reading of this book, which, despite all its apparent heresy, really sounds a note that needs to be sounded, and, though perhaps overstressing, is nevertheless laying needed emphasis on the social implications of the Gospels. Let us not be afraid to release the social challenge from the story of Jesus and his disciples.

If, however, we are to present this biblical material from the social point of view, it means a radical revision of method in teacher-training classes. The teachers must be inoculated with the social gospel; they must begin to read the Bible from the new angle and to get a new meaning out of the well-known words which have too long had merely an individualistic and otherworldly connotation. The need of adequate and modern training of the actual or prospective Sunday school teacher is one of the most vital and fundamental needs in the field of religious education at the pres-

ent time. The teacher who has caught the social vision, in however slight degree, and who brings that vision to the study and presentation of the Bible, can do inestimable service in preparing the pupil for social duties and responsibilities which are at the same time religious. But the teachers should not be left to get this social vision on their own account. The training course for teachers should include a discussion of social problems in the light of a social gospel. Here again the training should be both direct and indirect; not only should the entire normal course be suffused with the social spirit, but special courses on the social problem should be introduced. Only if we give proper training to our teachers can we expect them to give proper training to their pupils. The need is patent, then, for a provision of teacher-training courses which shall enable future instructors of children in our Sunday schools to interpret religion in terms of social as well as individual obligation and opportunity.

Besides, however, the recognition of the social implications of the biblical material and the provision for the proper and adequate presentation of this material from the new point of view to the boys and girls who are growing up to be men and women of our Churches and of our cities, we need in order to fit them for effective Christian citizenship something in addition: we need to make provision in the Sunday school curriculum, at least for the most advanced pupils, for specific instruction in the nature and phases of the social problem, with particular reference to local community needs, and in methods of social service. Face to face with foul tenements which stunt body, mind, and spirit, preventing a normal individual and social development, what shall be the attitude of the boy who is so soon to become a citizen as well as a Church member? Surely the Church which reads the prophets in her public services has a duty here. Again, shall we keep our more mature girls, soon to become wives and mothers, ignorant of the baleful conditions which have deprived so many thousands of women of wifehood and motherhood? Shall we not rather train them to coöperate in the new crusade against prostitution and the white slave traffic which have

found such fearless exponents in Jane Addams and other women?

These are but instances of the social problem which confronts the Church to-day and with which future Church members and citizens—the boys and girls in our Sunday schools—should be put into some sort of vital relation. In other words, the Sunday school should not confine its instruction to individual needs and duties, leaving its pupils to ascertain social needs and duties for themselves. It should rather instill into them at the earliest opportunity a desire to unite with their fellows in common service of the common good.

Happily the experiment at providing such a special or graduate course for the more advanced pupils is not untried. A long-continued effort to revise the American Sunday school curriculum in the light of contemporary social needs has resulted in at least a partial victory for the men and the women with the forward look, who see in the Sunday schools of our land instruments and agents of religious and social advance. Especially noteworthy is the comparatively recent program for "Community Study by Groups" prepared for older pupils by the Missionary Education Movement.* The program aims to show the pupil actual conditions in his own community, and to suggest what can be done, what he can do as a Christian citizen soon to be, to improve them. This course of study includes such topics as "The Locality and Population," "Economic Problems," "Poverty," "Class Distinction," "Labor Unions and Labor Problems," "Recreation," "The Saloon," "The Day of Rest," "Young People," "Immigration," "Christian Leadership in Public Life," "The Community Church." These topics do not, of course, represent finalities. They are merely suggestive of phases of the community problem about which the maturer pupils, at least, should have some knowledge if they are eventually to do their duty to the society of

*See also an article by Mr. George Creel in *Everybody's Magazine* for October, 1911. This article should be read by every one who is interested in the effort to adapt the Sunday schools of America to the conditions and needs of the present.

which they form a part, and not merely spend their lives earning a living, or selfishly enjoying the fruits of others' labors. This is only one experiment in the way of introducing direct social service instruction into the Sunday school curriculum. Whether it is an ideal course or whether it bears immediate fruit is not here the question; it is at least significant as indicative of a desire to meet a pressing need.

SOCIAL SERVICE

Besides specific instruction in the social problem and methods of service, however, there must be some provision for actual service. This is perhaps the most difficult part of our task. Just how we shall relate the boys and girls of our Sunday schools in some mutually helpful way to the life of the community is not yet quite clear. We must of course distinguish between the younger pupils and the older pupils. An experiment has already been tried with the younger pupils at the Sunday school of the Church of the Disciples, Boston, as outlined in a bulletin issued by the Unitarian Department of Social and Public Service. The plan in practice at this school contemplates special offerings and service for various grades of pupils, from the kindergarten department to the adult Bible class, in connection with various community institutions and social agencies, many of which owe their origin or development to members of the Church in question. To quote from the published account of the experiment:

"The twelve grades arranged for convenience under departmental names, each of which covers two years of class work, correspond to the twelve grades of the Beacon Series of lessons. These class interests have been chosen with reference to the development of the children, and, in certain cases, for the intimate relation they bear to the Church of the Disciples. Thus the Children's Aid Society was formed in the vestry of the old church; the South End Industrial School claimed the interest of the Church at its very beginning; the Home for Aged Colored Women was suggested by Mrs. James Freeman Clarke; the Elizabeth Peabody House was named for an early Church member,

and has for its President the beloved minister, Rev. Charles Gordon Ames, D.D. Other schools may choose objects of interest equally good for similar reasons. A study of the local Church history often reveals much inspiration for setting work into motion, while the new calls to service of the present day have an equal claim to recognition."

The plan here outlined is offered simply by way of suggestion; it is not by any means perfect. It lays altogether too much stress upon actual gifts of money and too little stress upon active effort. The whole aim of social service, in short, is to substitute active effort for financial contributions, or at least to supplement the one with the other; it is the attempt to enlist lay members of the Church in active service of the community. In the case of the younger pupils, however, it is difficult to see at present how this particular plan can be much improved upon.

For the older pupils, however, there is a far wider opportunity. Here we may take a hint from plans which have been recently developed in various colleges throughout the country, whereby the students are related in some way to various agencies for community welfare. These plans have been worked out for young men scarcely older than some of those in our Sunday schools. The service provided for includes boys' club work at various settlement houses and other institutions, friendly visiting under the direction of local associated charities, the leading of reading classes in various homes, and work in connection with juvenile court and probation associations. This plan might well be adapted to the specific needs of any given Sunday school in any particular community.*

In connection with this provision for social service by the young people in our schools of religious instruction, it might be well to set aside one Sunday a year as "decision Sunday" for social work. This would be an adaptation to our purpose of the plan already used in various Sunday schools for the purpose of recruiting church membership.

*See "Social Service as an Opportunity for University Students," published by the Phillips Brooks House Association, Harvard University.

This device, applied to social service, might have some significant results. To make the method practicable, it would be well to prepare a special slip or blank to be placed as a pledge form in the hands of the various pupils.* On this blank would be indicated the kinds of service for which the community is in need of workers, with a brief explanatory note concerning each. The individual answers to this appeal would be carefully filed and the pupils assigned to the various agencies for the work. Regular reports from the agencies in question or from the pupils would serve to indicate the value of the service rendered.

In other words, all that we have been discussing has as its aim the teaching of Christianity in its social as well as in its individual aspects. The ultimate result of social service will be the reinterpretation of Christianity in relation to life. It will involve necessarily the reassertion of the dignity of the Christian Church and of its concern in everything that pertains to human life and welfare. The trouble is that the Church—organized Christianity—has allowed itself in the recent past to be sidetracked into a narrow pietism which has had too little relation to the actual conditions of real life. This relating of the rising generation to life is the concern alike of religious educators and social reformers.

THE SOCIALIZED RURAL CHURCH

REV. WARREN H. WILSON, PH.D., NEW YORK CITY

THERE is no Church that is not socialized. We do not socialize a social institution. What we can do is to oppose the forces of desocialization and to correct false or spurious social forms. What the country Church needs is to cure the tendency it has now to make its members unsocial.

*Such as has been used at Holy Trinity Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., in a recent social service canvass of adult members of the parish.

The rural Church, in contrast to the Church in town and city, has become too often a vehicle of an unsocial life. It idealizes independence of character and it carries this teaching so far as to make a virtue of disobedience. Its teachings sometimes raise the doctrine of liberty of thought to so high a power that there are no virtues at all, for disobedience cannot be a virtue. Obedience in its various forms is the only virtue here, and the country Church in many States and counties has expressed to its people liberty of thought and action, so as to school them to oppose every form of organized, collective action among country people.

I have recently visited the area of country Churches in Pennsylvania among which Church membership is based on the catechism. It is the tradition in these families that the children should join the Church. As soon as they can memorize they are taught the catechism. They recite it to the minister, and when he is convinced that this labor of the parents is successful the children are received into the Church on a basis of knowledge and piety. Now among these people there is such a thing as leadership. The Church membership, being kept together in use of the catechism, expresses family life and the children come into the Church by reason of their life in that community. Contrast this situation with that of certain counties in Missouri where all the membership of the Churches is got together by evangelism. Among them it is not presumed that a child will join the Church. In fact, there are very few children in the Churches, the membership being mostly adult. The philosophy of life and religion in the Missouri Church is that of independence of the individual. The preacher must reach every man and convince him from the ground up that the Lord cares for his soul. This contrast shows the tendency of the Churches which depend on evangelism alone to exalt independence to its highest power and to diminish the idea of the community and of human society. Indeed, where evangelism builds the Churches men deny the claims of society upon them. This is what I mean by a system of Church life which makes a man unsocial.

The country Church also with frequency obstructs leadership by organizing division and dissent. The system

The remedy for this is, I am convinced, not to be found in Church union. The American countryman has a great principle in his doctrine of liberty, and whatever we are to recommend we must not be deluded with the hope of pope and bishops and superintendents to manage us. The social betterment of the country must come in a spiritual form rather than an organic form. I believe very cordially that all kinds of Presbyterians ought to get together into one body as soon as they can. Likewise should the Methodists and Baptists doubtless come, as soon as their hearts are moved to it, into greater unions of their own folk. This uniting of the established and representative Churches will continue to go on, but let us remember that there are new denominations born every year and let us have respect for that process of individual liberty which is deep written into the genius of our American people. There is a profound truth for democracy in the independence of the Baptist Churches and in the difference of denominations generally one from another. Whatever improvement we may propose and in some measure secure must come in harmony with this great principle of independent character, of freedom of thought about religious matters, and of the self-expression in the country Church of the individual, even though he stand alone.

But the remedy will come, I believe, in curing, not the symptom, but the hurt. The trouble with the now multiplied Churches in the country is that they do not serve. There would never be too many if they were all useful Churches. The real complaint against them is that many of them are of no value and some of them obstruct. The remedy, therefore, is in the serviceable Church in the country. This service, moreover, has to be rendered to the community, not to individuals. Nothing could be more dangerous than for the Church to conceive its duty to be the conversion of one soul or the giving comfort to a certain few. The need in the country is a wise spirit of service to the whole community.

Now the community has a soul just the same as a man has. It has an eternal, abiding interest. Communities can live forever, and the soul of the community is in those

ciency, for quietness of manner or for contentment with hard work and small returns. Their method has been to train their people in the traditional teachings of Christianity. They have assumed that after nineteen centuries Christian truth is pretty well sifted of superstition, bad logic, and falsehood, and have taught the body of Christian truth without regard to immediate or contemporaneous teachings. Their work has resulted in a solid, substantial, contented country community life. I believe very heartily in what they have done, and the power of it has been its delivery of character values among the young. They have made it a tradition in their communities for young people to unite with the Church. This has given them the whole population as their field of activity. They have freed their people at the beginning of life from the unsocial conception which makes a man think that religion has its whole tragic course in his own life.

We cannot, of course, imitate these old-fashioned people. It is impossible to turn back the clock. I commend, therefore, the Sunday School Movement, which is the modern and the American way of training the young, to Church people as the best method of rendering service through the Church to the young people of the whole community. When you think of it, there could be no better way than for each community to be required by a common, accepted standard to put the young of the community all under the teaching of those persons, always few in number, who have character and knowledge and authority. The Church which does this in the country will survive. It does not need the assent of its neighbors. In time it will have the allegiance of the whole community. If it invades the life of the young and enlists them in its classes, it will in time require other Churches, whether they will or not, to use the same methods or to perish.

Recreation for adolescents is coming to have as great a value for the young people from fourteen to twenty-one as the Sunday school has for the children from seven to fourteen. Whether we will or not, the advocates of organized play are convincing our minds that their case is just. They have allies in the children and young folk in

our families. The simple mind of the boy or girl in the family ever so strict and severe yields assent at once to the argument of the Young Men's Christian Association. We owe to this great body a debt very difficult to pay for their advocacy of the moral value of organized play.

It is on the playground that young people learn the lessons which we parents covet the opportunity to teach them in the way of right conduct. Conduct is not imparted by precept. It is in some degree contagious, through example, but in the adolescent years imitation is restrained within narrow limits. The budding egotism of the youth or maiden, the opening of eyes to the great world, the fresh dreams of personal success, of love, of aspiration, limit the horizon of the young person into a narrow circle. Among the boys we call this circle the gang. Outside this circle imitation does not go. The young man is inclined to resent the example and to oppose the precept of his elders, but with equal vigor to imitate the example and idealize the prowess of his associates. Among adolescents, therefore, organized games and the experiences of the playground have irresistible power over him. He is plastic to their influence, and we may be profoundly thankful for the tradition which comes to us in the sports and games now being revived and newly invented; for they depend for their existence upon honor and fairness and truth and obedience of one to another. They possess a large factor of self-sacrifice. Think what a school the game of baseball is to the youth of a factory town over whom foreign parents have but little influence on account of the clumsy speech and foreign birth and immature Americanism. The playground is democratic. All are on an equality in the game, and eminence is to be attained by feats of strength or skill, or the moral power of self-restraint, presence of mind, fine obedience, and coöperative team play.

Here is a discipline for the training of men in social conduct, for the elimination of egotism, for the quelling of disobedience. There would be no trouble organizing the farmers of the Southland in the marketing of their products and in other much-desired enterprises if the old men now owning the land were as obedient to other farmers as the

boys who play baseball are obedient to other boys. In these commonplace virtues the Church has been silent. Its organization has been such as to desocialize its members. The school has had a similar influence, and the life of farmers, by their lonely residence and solitary work, has unfitted them for collective action. The playground will occupy a great place in the schooling of the next generation.

The use of leisure determines as well as exhibits the nature of one's free conduct. What a man does when he is hired or is working for profit is required of him, but what he does when he plays is of his own will; so that play is self-expression. It is a discipline in doing what one has a mind to do. Organized play is a discipline in doing what a group or company have a mind to do; therefore play has great moral and ethical values, and in the freeing of a community from unsocial conduct there is no better discipline after what I have mentioned in the imparting of religious truth than the discipline of organized play.

The Church has always been attentive to the needs of the poor, but again in an unsocial way, in the American development of the Church. We have not yet used the Church to cancel the individualism which grew out of the soil in America, but we have recognized always that the poor are the care of the people of God. There is great reason for this. We have not forgot that unto the poor the kingdom of God was given at the beginning. Long before our Master said, "Blessed be ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God," the thing which he observed in so speaking had been effective, for religious movements have grown as a rule out of the experience of poor people. The aspiration of the poor for a better life, their longing and prayer to get on and to do well have given rise to a collective action which was in the beginning casually organized, but in the end has taken form as a great religious movement. The Hebrews themselves came out of Egypt a nation of slaves. The Christian Church dwelt for three centuries in the slums, in the place of tombs, and in cellars of the Roman Empire. The successive Protestant movements with scarcely an exception took their rise in a layer of population very humble. The American religious move-

ments have generally been associated with economic aspiration. Poor folks or those under pressure have found themselves at one in response to the teaching of an individual or group of teachers, and have become a denomination.

In the country Church the leadership too often has fallen into the hands of men whose eminence is financial rather than spiritual. American farming is so poorly organized that the successful farmer is very frequently a miser. The methods of farming in use in this country put a great premium upon mere inability to spend money. The man who can work hard and save every penny, or if he does not work at all can keep the pennies from going out, is the successful farmer in many communities. Too often he gets himself elected an officer in the Church and he does not sympathize with the poor. He is not a good example for the poor. His influence is toward unsocial living and a narrow path for the Church.

Evangelism too, when alone used in the Church, tends to sift out the poor and to retain only the rich and capable. Evangelism is an appeal to the individual, and it is a spasmodic, emotional exercise. But poor folks need constant and persistent attention. They are under constant and unrelieved pressure. If there is not a pastor to create an atmosphere in which they may enjoy religion, the poor will lapse from the Church, as generally they do in those country sections where evangelism is the only method of Church work. In order to socialize the Church in the country and to use it as a means of training the people out of their scattered and unorganized life, the country Churches need pastors. Nothing is so important as to replace the absentee ministry of the present time, with its dependence upon emotional and galvanic shocks, with the constant and steadfast ministry of a pastor. You understand, of course, that the pastor himself will be an evangelist in the proper times and occasions; but in the interest of the poor, whose condition is always necessitous, the pastor will be a diligent and faithful minister of religion.

The socialized Church in the country will exercise the community in the great thoughts and experiences which belong to it. Men are likely to forget their own heritage

and to ignore the tradition in which they live; therefore I would urge that the Church in the country be the center for celebrating the holidays of the year, for keeping alive the remembrance of the dead, for dignifying the neighborhood with the memorials of past days. The remembrance of departed people whose character was distinguished, of great battles, of famous houses, or of historic events is an essential part of the social life of the community. The Church can do nothing of any greater influence toward training the people out of indifference and loneliness than by elevating their minds on occasion to remember their great kinsfolk and predecessors. This is generally done through the holidays of the year. Charles Kingsley was very proud of the Church of England because of her saints' days. He claimed that the days devoted to the remembrance of saints in the Christian calendar had extraordinary value in completing the influence of human society upon his country parishioners. It is true in this country. We have in the year certain sacred days: Christmas and Easter, Memorial Day, Fourth of July, Labor Day, and Thanksgiving. I may add the birthdays of Washington, Lincoln, Lee, and great men who have served well in their generation and suffered or fought or died heroically while bearing the burden of the whole people. It is a very bad thing for any man to pass successive Thanksgiving days or Christmas days without the intense experience of remembrances which these days impart. I know a Church in Illinois which for years has made much of the Fourth of July. Without use of explosives and with safe and sane methods this Church has attracted a great company annually from all the countryside and from the towns near by to enjoy together this celebration of the nation's birthday.

The third class of marginal people in whom is the soul of the community are the good farmers. We are told by good authority that throughout the country "the land is passing into the hands of better farmers; therefore the Church must make its people good farmers, if the Church is to remain in the country." No one can deny that this is the future of American agriculture. Serious as the difficulties are, this nation has put its hand to the improvement

of the methods of farming. Great bodies of knowledge, expert and popular, have been prepared. The national government and the States, with the coöperation of institutions of learning generally, are devoting vast resources to the schooling of the farmer in the great task for which he must go forward in the next generation. It is important for the Church to claim this movement as her own. Good farming is a discipline in religious and sober living. The aversion of many farmers to the processes by which they may succeed better and produce more is itself a sign that good farming is an ethical process. The Church has a business to promote it on behalf of the people in the country, as a whole, and on behalf of her own future.

This can be done first of all by teaching the principles of good farming which are in the Bible. I will not now take time for this at length, but here is a problem for the preacher. The Bible teaches in Deuteronomy that ownership is good and debt is bad. The farmer to-day is being schooled by many tutors in the doctrine that debt is good and ownership is unimportant. The old tradition of the American farmer was scriptural. The nation itself indorsed the scriptural standard which had such influence in making the Hebrew race. The homestead law gave away titles to land on the principle that ownership of land is good for a people. We are to-day in the midst of a tide of speculation in farm land. The philosophy of this is that country people are to enjoy cash prices for their land. With this speculative tide goes the teaching that debt is good; that it is a means of efficiency. I will not deny the truth of this as a minor thing, but I strenuously object to the conviction which many hold that ownership is unimportant and credit for the farmer—I mean here his capacity to go into debt—is righteous. Anyway, you will not find in the scripture sources of the Hebrew race any indorsement of debt, but you will find it promises them that they "should lend and not borrow." I suggest this to the preacher. If he wants something to teach his people in which they will not at the first agree with him, let him preach to them the value of ownership in distinction from the value of debt.

There should be in every country Church a Farmers' Class, or Brotherhood, for the men in middle life. It might well have membership also among the young men. This club should be religious. Its purpose should be to make the farmers of the Church the best farmers of the community. It should be devoted to the Church itself, in that after the revival meeting which is held in the country Church the farmers' club should be a personal work league for the enlisting of Church members and for binding them together in the social life of the Church throughout the year. These farmers' clubs should bring into the community the teachers of better farming, the advocates of farm coöperation, the prophets of the new social order in the country.

I need not urge, I am sure, that the country church should be open to the Farmers' Institute, and that every agency having a word to say for serious men to hear in the interest of improved incomes and self-respecting economic life should be welcomed in the country Church. These things need not be the theme on Sunday morning. I have just insisted that the teaching of the Church should be scriptural and doctrinal always, so far as preaching and Sunday school work are concerned. But I insist that throughout the week the minister and the officers of the Church should be conspicuous and effective advocates of good farming. The Christian Church in the country must identify itself with the movement for skillful, productive, and profitable agriculture, if the Church intends to survive and if the Church believes in the survival of the American way of life.

We need, therefore, a standard of country life. There is an old standard which came to us from the past. It has somewhat different forms, but many things in common. It introduces the evangelist and looks toward the work of the pastor. It has a tradition and a mode of preparing ministers. It has methods of increasing the supply of ministers. For many reasons we cannot go back to the past. We are confronted to-day with a change which masters us, with which we cannot argue; and when this transition collides with the old-fashioned ways of life and finds

them unprepared the effect is revolutionary. This revolution is due to a complete change in the farmer's way of life. In all parts of the United States, in populations the most conservative, this change has come to pass. The farmer is passing from an age of barter, in which in the household or in the community he produced and manufactured nearly all that he consumed, to an age of cash income, in which the farmer is a consumer as well as a producer. He occupies no longer an exceptional place as a producer. His goods do not feed or clothe himself. Between the raw material he raises and sells and the manufactured goods he wears and eats and the tools he employs are the many processes, which are essentially productive, of the mechanic, the factory hand, the middleman, the captain of industry. These new economic processes effect a profound revolution in country life and the Churches have been unable to resist the change wrought upon the farmer himself. This change comes in the shift of the population, in the exodus from the country, in its dissatisfaction with a small income, and the eager, necessitous looking about for means to make more money out of farming.

Along with this goes the alienation of the villages from the surrounding country. The people in the villages are otherwise occupied than with the farmer. They think themselves to belong to the city rather than to the homestead. The Churches in the village are not attended, as once they were, by country people. Within ten years a change has come in the alienation of country people from the village Church. We need, therefore, a new standard in all the Churches, and I mention only certain factors of it. Not every Church needs to practice all this standard. In different communities there is a differing impact of the new upon the old. The business of the Church is to serve and minister to the marginal people of the community; the young, the poor, and the good farmers. So that the following standard is suggested as a list of the measures by which Churches in the country are saving their people from un-social life and from selfish individualism:

1. The Church must stand for good farming.

2. The Church must provide, and it very often should control, organized recreation in the whole community.

3. The Church should through its members exert all influence in favor of improvement of schools, especially the consolidation of the rural schools.

4. The Church should teach, as a spiritual and moral imperative, the doctrine on which the true organization of country life shall be built. Farmers are going to be organized; therefore the Church ought to be the teacher of the philosophy of organized country life.

5. The Church should follow the work of the evangelist with the work of the pastor.

6. Religious education is of profound and far-reaching importance among country people. Of this the Sunday school is the nucleus and the tradition, but the education of the young in religion is more important and should be better done than education of the young in the mere getting of a living.

7. The prosperity of the country is a great concern to the country Church. This interest cannot be exhausted by the teaching of Church finance. The Church must teach the community farm finance. It is more important that the farmer's income be devoted to the Lord than that the minister's income be adequate to the minister. Ministers and Church people, therefore, in the interest of the kingdom of God should study the conditions of country life, especially those about which farmers care most and would pray most fervently, if they were taught—namely, the economic and social interests by which the community lives or dies; on which the self-respect and independence of the country family are dependent.

THE SOCIAL MISSION OF THE CHURCH TO THE FACTORY POPULATION OF THE SOUTH

REV. HENRY D. PHILLIPS, LAGRANGE, GA.

IF the Church in its prayer to Almighty God is right in asking "those things which are requisite and necessary as well for the body as the soul," and if Christianity is to bear witness to the dignity of life and the sacredness of living, the Church has a social mission to the toilers in the cotton mills of the South. Not only to the operatives, but to the mill owners and managers, has the Church an opportunity of real service.

As the cotton textile industry has developed in the South the factory population has rapidly increased. The cotton mill in the South has become not only an economic factor but a tremendous power affecting the social conditions as well. The greatest growth of the industry since 1880 has been in the South. The manufacture of cotton goods has become localized in the New England and Southern States. The finer numbers, for which greater skill and efficiency are required, are almost exclusively manufactured in New England; whereas the bulk of the coarser yarns, for which less skill is needed, is spun in the South.

Between 1880 and 1908 the number of spindles in the United States has increased from 10,700,000 to nearly 28,000,000. During this period the spindles in the South increased from 500,000 to 10,500,000. The last three years of the period alone showed a record of a growth of 3,000,000 spindles. From this it can be seen that the growth of the milling industry in the South has become a potent factor in the cotton mill industry and in the economic conditions of this section. The future, doubtless, will show a continued growth, for by artificial means, humidifiers, etc., and by more efficient labor the finer yarns as well may be manufactured.

By the side of the eight hundred mills in the South stand the factory communities and villages. Through the Car-

olinas, Georgia, and Alabama the little hamlets and towns have become familiar with the factory whistle and are realizing that large numbers of people are grouped around them who are standing apart from the municipal and social life of the village, town, or city. The source of the labor which has made this industrial advance possible is readily traced to the unlettered masses of the white population.

The cotton mill operatives are somewhat of the same type in the South, whether found in the town, city, or mill village. They are the native whites from the rural and mountainous districts, where the mills are located near the mountains, the employees are mostly mountaineers who have been drawn to the mills by the attractions and advantages of community life and by better returns for their labor.

Since the number of cotton mills in the South has more than doubled within a very short time and the spindles have increased sixfold, and since the industry has the possibility of still further development, it can be seen how steady and large is the stream and how great will be the flow of recruits to the textile industry. Five hundred thousand native whites are now living in the cotton mill villages of the South.

When one's attention is asked for the cotton mill population, one phase of the problem looms so large in the mind's eye that much else is often obscured. It is difficult for many to see any help except through legislation and higher wages. No one can object to any agitation which makes for the betterment of the people, whether it be child labor legislation or a minimum wage. But I do feel that a truer perspective should be placed before the Church. There is a spirit in the air which is impatient and in its enthusiasm is bent upon relieving a complex situation by convulsion and revolution. The critical spirit, together with an ardent desire to ameliorate the conditions under which the people live, has a tendency to minimize certain opportunities which are neglected; it fails at the same time to realize the necessity of arousing a responsiveness of personal service and sympathy, which alone can give a constructive value to legislation. Surveys of conditions in mill

villages may be helpful. They can be made the means of a constructive work by the Church when they are fair, when they recognize the good existing with the bad. Statisticians have a work in arresting attention. But the distinctive work, the social mission, of the Church is neither that of the statistician nor of the agitator. Each has a place and a service to render. But the phases of their work should not be confused.

In the work of the Christian Church there should be no adherence to party, partisan ideas, or platforms. She must bear witness to the truth enunciating the rightness, the sacredness of life and living. While others may view the cotton mill problem abstractly and elaborate theories about the woman or the child in the mill, the Church must reflect the love of God for the individual. It is the Father whose nature she is ever to proclaim and whose relationship to men she is ever to reflect and make consciously real.

The material things—conditions of labor, external circumstances—need to be regarded; but the real and true righting of these, while helped and improved by social and philanthropic agencies at work, can never be substantially and successfully approximated until the soul itself demands expression in a better environment.

In speaking of the cotton mill operative, I am not forgetful of the man. The operatives are people, native Americans, Southern people, just as human as you or I. I speak of them as friends, capable of manifesting all that one holds dear in his relation of man to man. I believe in them because I believe in you. Their needs are natural ones. The difference between them and many of us has been caused by lack of opportunity, isolation in rural districts, and the inability of themselves to adjust themselves to changed conditions of living. Because of the large number of operatives and their presence in hundreds of comparatively remote towns where the forces of social and spiritual uplift are necessarily limited, they present one of the South's great problems. Because of their poor preparation to meet their new environment, because of their ignorance of economy, sanitation, and hygiene, because of their lack of education

and their prejudices, and because of their isolation from the currents of social and civic life around them—all the protection and sympathy that Christian influences can muster must be brought to bear upon their life in the mill and in the home. From an isolated rural family to a community of several thousand is a long step for those so ill prepared. The situation demands more than laws or theories about the condition of the woman or child in the mill. Nothing will suffice short of personal service, advice, and direction born of friendship and sympathy. I know of no power or organization which can furnish this except that which comes from Jesus Christ through his Church.

The gospel has been preached and is being preached to this large body of industrial wage-earners, but there is a widespread recognition that results are not generally encouraging, in that the lives of the people are not sufficiently gripped so as to enable them to perform well the function of living in our modern and complex conditions of life. This is evidenced by the weak hold the Church has upon them, the indifference of church attendance, spasmodic and fitful, and the scanty financial support relative to their means; by no apparent growth to meet new conditions of living; by no strong efforts to bolster the weakening ties of the home; by no efforts of the spiritual guides to bring the lives of the people into harmony with the laws of God; by no conception on their part of a gospel to the whole man with activities stimulating the mind, developing and training the body as the sacred temple of the indwelling Spirit. It is not that the gospel has lost its strengthening and saving influence, but that the methods employed have not presented it in its full power.

In our large cities millions are spent for our young men and women in libraries, Christian Associations, boys' clubs, and various other institutions which strive to give wholesome amusement, good literature, and Christian environment to their beneficiaries. Every city of size boasts of several such institutions. Vocational and manual training is provided in the public schools; organized cooking classes, sewing societies, and clubs of many kinds have become the

normal working force of many Churches. But for this industrial class little has been done by the Churches.

Among the operatives the Church has depended upon arousing the emotions and has not relied upon educating the individual to meet the forces against which he has to contend. Their needs demand from their spiritual guides an interpretation of the gospel in terms of objective teaching. As the Master's love cannot be expressed truly by charity doled from a grocery wagon, neither can the gospel be fully represented in words from the pulpit once or twice a month, or for that matter every night in the month. More preaching is not so much needed as a more intelligible interpretation of it in all phases of everyday living—applied Christianity. Particularly is this a necessity when the home ties are broken and when there are only feeble constructive forces at work to cement the fragments. The necessity becomes paramount since there are a legion of destructive forces and temptations to allure the individual astray. Thus the Church has a social mission in order to meet these immediate circumstances.

In speaking of this phase I ask your indulgence by alluding to our Lagrange Settlement. There actual expression is attempted along the line I refer to. There is nothing added to the gospel of Christ. The efforts are not prompted by the positivist motive, but there is a realization that man is a unit, and when there is an imperfect functioning in one phase of living the harmony of his whole being is disturbed. There are numerous clubs and activities which begin before the birth of the child by the help of the district nurse and continue with it through the whole course of its life. There are activities in connection with the individual from the cradle to the grave. No one of them is a "bait" for Sunday school or for some hidden motive. Each fits in as a new expression is demanded in the development of the life of the individual. Christianity alone can give the true meaning of its expression. The clubs, recreation, education—all, by the teaching of the Church, are made to express fairness and justice, consideration and toleration, love and unselfishness, service and control, purity and man-

liness in objective forms which couple life with the power of the gospel.

Thus the social mission of the Church substitutes nothing for the Christian religion, nor does it imply that there is need of religion plus anything. Settlements are used to express a possible and practicable means by which the Christian religion finds expression in social activity. By saying that settlements under the control of the Church are the most effective means of serving the factory population of the South, nothing is detracted from the evangelical preaching, "Jesus Christ and him crucified," but an intelligible interpretation is given in objective teaching. Nothing is to detract from the fact that man must "be born again"; but, as one has suggested, he must be given a chance to be born right the "first" time.

The proposed settlements are to effect a change of heart as well as a change of environment; to strive to conform the lives of the people to the laws of science and nature, thereby giving objective lessons of God's love; to teach better hygiene, because the body is the temple of the Holy Spirit; to foster a desire for education, because the mind is for God's service; to encourage recreation and development, because growth is natural; to instill ambition, because rightly pursued it can find its true self in spiritual growth.

COÖPERATIVE EFFORTS OF THE CHURCH AND ORGANIZED LABOR IN BEHALF OF SOCIAL HEALTH AND JUSTICE*

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THE community idea has grown rapidly in late years. To-day it has a wide significance in our life. The best things that we have are produced by the community and community

*For the historical facts used in this address credit is given as follows: Webb, "Industrial Democracy"; Mitchell, "Organized Labor"; Carlton, "History and Problems of Organized Labor."

action. For our pleasure, our wealth, our happiness, and our well-being we are dependent upon the community. It is also true that the worst things are given to us by the community. Disease, crime, vice, and death are the products of the community. Sin, in order to be understood at all, must be defined in terms of the community. The community is the real battle field. God is fighting against evil, and the stakes are high—men's happiness or misery.

The two factors in the struggle with which this discussion is interested are organized labor and the Church. By the Church is meant all forms of religious organizations in the community. That the discussion may be as concrete as possible I will speak from three standpoints:

1. The place of organized labor in the struggle for social health and justice.
2. Some possible points of contact and coöperation between the Church and organized labor.
3. Some practical conclusions.

The struggle of labor forms a long, bitter history. In fact, the history of the world is largely the history of the rise of the workingman. Every problem has involved in it somewhere a labor problem. It is the problem of a man fighting to free himself and keep himself free from the things he himself has created. By coöperative effort men have produced wealth, and that same wealth has become their master.

In a history of trades-unionism I suppose that the logical place to begin would be with those brickmakers under Pharaoh who about 1500 B.C. struck because they were forced to make bricks without straw. However, this was a mere revolt among slaves. For the first data of union labor we must go to the fourteenth century. In 1396 the serving men of the saddlers formed a fraternity "for the purpose of raising wages." In 1417 the tailors' serving men and journeymen in London had to be "forbidden to dwell apart from their masters, as they held assemblies and had formed a kind of association." These tailors' unions were not confined to London, but were spreading throughout the kingdom. In 1538 the Bishop of Ely wrote to Cromwell as follows:

"Twenty-one journeymen shoemakers of Wisbech have assembled on a hill without the town, and sent three of their number to summon all the master shoemakers to meet them, in order to insist upon an advance in their wages, threatening that there shall none come into the town to serve for that wages within a twelvemonth and a day, 'but we woll have an harme or a legge of hym, except he woll take an othe as we have doon.'" The crafts guilds (for so these early unions were called) were devised for the purpose of protecting the standards of living. The idea was to give every worker an opportunity to earn his living by his own craft, and to protect the worker against loss of position or work by another workman. As early as 1666 we have record of a protest made by the London printers against the apprentice system, specifically against the multiplication of apprentices and turning them over from one master to another. A pamphlet issued during the year 1669 gives an interesting insight into conditions, and sounds a note so much like that often heard in our day that it is worth quoting: "The general conspiracy amongst artificers and laborers is so apparent that within these twenty-five years the wages of joiners, bricklayers, and carpenters are increased, I wean within forty miles of London (against all reason and good government), from 18 to 20 pence a day to 2/6 and 3/, and mere laborers from 10 and 12 pence a day unto 16 and 20 pence, and this not since the dreadful fire of London only, but sometime before. A journeyman shoemaker has now, in London (and proportionately in the country), 14 pence for that pair of shoes which within these twelve years he had made for 10 pence. Nor has the increase of wages amongst us been occasioned by quickness of trade and want of hands (as some do suppose), which are indeed justifiable reasons, but through an exacting humor and evil disposition in our people that so they may live the better above their station, and work so much the fewer days, by how much the more they exact in their wages." Adam Smith, speaking in the same vein, said: "People of the same trade seldom meet together, even for merriment and diversion, but the conversation ends in a

conspiracy against the public, or in some contrivance to raise prices." Another statement of the same age is significant: "It has been an ancient custom in the Kingdom of Great Britain for divers artists to meet together and unite themselves in societies to promote amity and true Christian charity, and establishing a sick and funeral club, which invariably proceeds to discuss the rates of wages offered by the employers and insensibly passes into a trade-union, with friendly benefits; and if the trade is one in which the journeymen frequently travel in search of work, we note the slow elaboration of systematic arrangements for the relief of these 'tramps' by their fellow workers in each town through which they pass, and the inevitable passage of this far-extending tramping society into a national trade-union"

The labor movement of our day is the outgrowth of our factory system, and our factory is an evolution of the old hand tool. In the olden time the workman labored alongside of his boss—both were workers; to-day a corporation does the hiring. The laboring man needs this corporation, he must have it. The corporation can get along without the individual laborer, but the laborer cannot get along without the corporation, and this corporation is a thing hard to get at—often without any heart or soul. Its only interest is profits. Its life depends on gain. When it fails to make money it is killed, and no one is charged with homicide for killing a corporation. To get some idea of what the trend of our times means commercially I call attention to this table, which was published some years ago:

From 1850 to 1900, in fifty years, taking the increase of American manufacturing as the unit, 1,

Capital invested increased	18	times
Value of products increased	13	times
Wages of workers increased	10	times
Number of employees increased	5½	times

In the last thirteen years the increase has been still more remarkable.

In 1830 there were twenty-three miles of railroad in the United States. At present there are over two hundred

thousand miles. Since 1825 can be traced a wonderful growth in trades-unionism, and to this growth is attributable the rather remarkable increase of wages.

The modern movement may be said to date from 1842. However, it was 1871 before the unions were declared legal. In 1865 a Labor Congress was held at Louisville with less than thirty delegates. The next year the one at Baltimore attracted more attention. Labor agitation was crystallized in the organization of the Knights of St. Crispian. Influential men and some of the leading newspapers were espousing the labor cause. The Congress of Laborers held in Chicago in 1867 was the first to suggest a scheme of labor unions: city, county, and State. Three years later the National Labor Congress, which met in Cincinnati, represented 400,000 people. Out of these beginnings has grown the American Federation of Labor, the strongest and most effective labor organization in the world. The Federation is democratic in its make-up and its annual convention is a delegated body. The Federation is composed of 117 national and international unions, representing approximately 27,000 local unions, 37 State branches, 570 city central unions, and 669 local unions. The approximate membership is 2,000,000. The affiliated unions publish 245 weekly and monthly papers devoted exclusively to the cause of labor. The official organ is the *American Federationist*, edited by Samuel Gompers, President of the Federation. There are 926 organizers of local unions acting under the orders of the American Federation of Labor. The objects and aims of this Federation are to render employment and means of subsistence less precarious by securing to the workers an equitable share of the fruits of their labor.

The reports of the officers of the American Federation of Labor at the convention held in Rochester last year were the best reports that have ever been given since the organization of this splendid body. In spite of the drawbacks and the rumors and court trials by reason of the dynamiting throughout the whole country, the cause of labor moved forward, and the real leaders have maintained themselves in the midst of a struggle against the most gigantic forces

of the time. These words of Treasurer Lennon, given in his report before the Denver convention, are pertinent in the present situation: "The calamity howlers have always been in our midst, pointing out the near dissolution of the trades-union movement, but in spite of all opposition, both from within and without, and despite all discouragements offered, the trades-union movement has steadily made progress. Improved conditions have been secured, wages have been advanced, the intelligence of the workers has made wonderful progress, and the solidarity of our movement is greater now than at any time in the past."

The trades-union movement is based upon a recognition of the validity of the collective contract. In the olden time when the worker and his employer met face to face and knew each other, the individual could make his own terms; but to-day, under the factory system, it is impossible for the employee as an individual to know his employer. By all the employees binding themselves together, they are able to treat with the employer on equal terms; this is the fundamental principle of trades-unionism. Whoever joins the union agrees to give up his right to private contract, however advantageous it might be to him personally, for the general good of all his fellow workers. This does not mean that all the men in the union shall be on a dead level. Nor does it mean, as has been declared, that "the union cuts off the heads of the tallest men." It does not mean that all shall earn the same wages. The assumption of the union is a reasonable one, that if a man is fit to work at all he ought to receive a decent wage for his work and that he ought to be protected in his work. So the union determines what shall be the minimum wage and the maximum number of hours the members shall work. By the minimum wage is meant that no member shall work for less than the union scale; but, in one trade here in Atlanta where the union scale is \$14.50 per week, I know one man who is receiving \$27.50 per week, and every employee is getting more than the scale demands.

In the French Revolution one of the slogans of the populace was: "No superiors." The creed of labor unions

is: "No inferiors." No cheap labor, no ill-paid labor; better men and better pay. The union gives every man a chance; all have unrestricted opportunities and no one is held back. Energy, courage, and perseverance will carry a man far in the union. Efficiency rather than cheapness; good work at fair prices, rather than poor work at poor prices—this is in a sentence the aim of organization.

It has been urged against organized labor that it is class legislation, that it fosters a class spirit and engenders a class consciousness, that it widens the gap between labor and capital. Classes have always existed, and whenever the laborer has attempted to help himself, he has been urged to stay in and be content with the position God has given him. Ruskin says: "We throw a man into the ditch and then tell him God put him there." This great class of laboring people have always been a tremendous factor in the world's progress. Up to the present we have not realized how much they count for in our political and social life. Instead of fostering class hatred, the union lifts up the laborer and puts him on a footing where he can command the respect of his employer. Instead of widening the chasm between capital and labor, the unions, by calling attention to the chasm that has always existed, are doing much to develop the laborer so that the chasm can be safely and sanely bridged.

Another objection to trades-unionism is that it fosters strikes. The unions do not exist for the purpose of carrying on strikes any more than our nation was founded to make war with other nations. The boycott is a part of the union policy to the same degree that a blacklist is a part of the policy of the average business house or factory, and no more. John Mitchell's statement is a good one: "The labor unions are for the workman, but against no one." The blacklist was used first by the employer before the boycott was thought of by the employee. Another interesting fact, even the word "boycott" is derived from the name of Captain Boycott, a land agent in Ireland who flourished in the last century. The strike is the last resort of labor and its answer to the statement, "Nothing to arbitrate," that has been so

often given by the employer to his workmen, when they have had, or thought they had, a grievance. "The business is my own"—this is the proud assumption of the owner. Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was a crime for a laborer to want to arbitrate with his employer. In 1798 five journeymen printers in Philadelphia had a grievance and asked for a conference. It was granted, but when they arrived at the appointed hour they were arrested, tried under the old law, and sentenced to penal servitude. "If it had not been for the strike in 1844, which was lost, the ray of light which penetrated the depths of our coal mines would have been delayed for years." I do not believe in strikes, neither do I believe in war; but there comes a time when the only way rights can be secured is by means of strong measures. "In 1824 in England the strikes which followed the repeal of the combination acts were essential to the breaking up of the power of custom and fear over the minds of the British working classes." For hundreds of years it had been a crime by statute for workmen to combine to raise wages or to shorten the hours of labor, while employers were at liberty to make any combination desired for the avowed and express purpose of lowering wages and lengthening the hours of labor. "At the beginning of the nineteenth century the laborers of England were illiterate, tax-ridden, poverty-stricken, and practically without the political franchise. Nothing but the series of fierce revolts and bitter strikes of that age could have won respect and rights for British laborers. Through these strikes the English employers learned to respect and appreciate their laborers." "Strikes are the insurrections of labor," says Francis Walker. You cannot know history by simply knowing the names of the different insurrections; you must know what has brought about these insurrections and what has been their results. To know the labor movement you must have the same knowledge respecting its insurrections.

Another fact worth noting is that since 1905 strikes in this country have been decreasing at the rate of one hundred and seventy each year, and also that the stronger the unions become the fewer strikes there will be, for the unions counsel

peace. Their plea is for arbitration. There is no reason why this plea should not be heeded. We are living in the time when the "reign of reason" ought to have full sway. "A country without strikes" will be a country where the workingmen are all unionized.

These are significant words from the editor of the *Catholic World*: "In New Zealand the labor unions have in the Court of Arbitration a veritable bulwark of justice, and in spite of the forebodings of the prophets of evil, it has eliminated strikes. It has established justice and social order where industrial anarchy prevailed before. It is a welcome boon to both capital and labor. How long will the practical common sense of America be in finding that this is the way out of the industrial evils that plague us?"

The unions are doing wonderful things in the way of helping each other and building up the various trades. There are courses of instruction being offered by the unions. The exhibit of the Typographical Union in the Tuberculosis Congress held in Washington was one of the best. No institution is supporting its aged and worn-out members in a better, more comfortable style than this same union. The Printers' Home at Colorado Springs, Colo., is a model.

Through the Federation of Trades the workers of our country have been enabled to enjoy a large share of the good things that they have helped to produce. The vision of the worker has been widened and his horizon stretched out. The program of labor is a program to protect the standards of living. Little children taken out of the mills are permitted to enter the schools. The home life has been sweetened and the whole community bettered. Although organized labor enrolls in its membership only about twenty per cent of the workers of America, yet this twenty per cent has carried and is carrying upon its shoulders the whole body of American workingmen and lifting them into a larger life.

The Church and labor ought to feel very friendly toward each other. Underlying the labor movement is a strong ethical principle. And then again, everything that has been charged to the discredit of organized labor has at some time

or other in its history been charged against the Christian Church. Fundamental to any coöperation between organized labor and organized religion must be a recognition that the interests of the community are one; that employer, employee, and the public must each have its share of justice and health, else any plan will fail. Success to one party in the community is dependent upon the success of all.

There are certain broad propositions upon which organized labor and the Church can and ought to agree.

First among such propositions, the demand that the factories, workshops, and other places of employment be made safe and clean. At its best, labor pays a frightful toll in life and limb each year. We have killed and maimed in the United States in the last ten years five million of our fellow men. For every one killed in war during the same period we have killed nearly nine hundred in industry. A large part of this carnage is unnecessary, and certainly it is not just that the injured workman should bear the total cost of his injury. The blood of the worker ought to be and must be a part of the price of the commodity.

Certainly the Church and organized labor can agree that the hours of labor shall be reduced to the lowest possible number, and that all workers shall be granted one day's rest in seven. There is no reason for inordinately long hours, and no humanity in a seven days' week. Undoubtedly, under present conditions, some processes in industry must be continuous, but a continuous process does not demand continuous labor on the part of the same workers.

Another point of agreement and coöperation, and one that is fundamental to any worth-while program, will be a demand for a more just distribution of the products of toil. Inadequate wages are responsible for a large amount of the misery, crime, and vice in our communities. A study of the map of any city will convince even the most skeptical that there is a close connection between poverty and all other evils, and that our greatest fight to-day is a fight against poverty.

Every man and woman under ordinary circumstances who is willing to work and does work ought to receive suffi-

cient from that labor to live in comfort. Just as long as there is any considerable number of hard-working, sober families who, after careful economy, have less money than is required for them to live as they ought to live, so long you may be sure there is injustice somewhere. All poverty cannot be prevented, but a large proportion of that great class of human beings who are now living on or below the line which defines poverty may be infinitely bettered by granting to all workers adequate pay for their labor. An industrial condition which provides luxury for the few and denies common necessities for the many is fundamentally wrong. All work ought to be adequately paid for, and the pay given to the men and women who *work*, not to some one else. Every workman and his family must have a good, commodious house for his home, time to enjoy his home and its comforts, leisure for study, play, reading, recreation, or whatever he may desire. These are fundamental to the development of any moral or ethical life.

An enterprise that fails to pay a dividend on the invested capital is discontinued. By the same method of reasoning, and in the name of justice, no business ought to be continued that cannot pay adequate returns to labor. A firm doing business in a large city and paying the girls in its employ only \$2.00 or \$3.00 a week, cannot make up in gifts to philanthropy and charity for the souls it has damned.


The question of child labor, as well as nearly every other question, resolves itself finally to a question of wages.

To sum up the possible means by which the Church and organized labor may coöperate, it is safe to say that all questions that touch the welfare of men and women are clearly within the domain of the work of the Church; and as a fundamental human organization, the Church that would do its work must coöperate with the labor organizations for the securing of that degree of industrial justice that will make possible the best and finest moral development.

This conference is significant, and if the Churches and labor organizations can agree upon a program and unitedly stand for it, wielding as they do such tremendous influence

over large segments of life, they can easily win in this momentous struggle.

Destitution is caused by the man failing to fit himself into the conditions of modern economic society. By a little care and study the causes which have brought him into this condition can be learned and, when determined, should be removed. It will take years of patient, painstaking work. Slums are not eradicated in a day, nor is good legislation passed in one year. A real help can be given through increasing the facilities so that the children of the very poor may have a better chance for a common school education with domestic and industrial training; encouragement in habits of temperance; sanitary living; frugal management of the home, inculcating provident habits; and, on the other hand, by legislation and by the pressure of public opinion forcing or encouraging employers to pay better wages. Laws have been passed which promote public health. In many places the medical inspection of school children is compulsory. This law followed the discovery that a large proportion of wayward children were suffering from some physical disability. Pure food laws are being enforced, thus making it impossible for corporations to poison the poor through what they eat. Laws against patent medicines; compensation laws to care for those who are disabled, or the dependents of those who are killed in their daily tasks; employers' liability laws, making the employers responsible for the safety of the employees; laws to protect the worker against the disease incident to his occupation, such as the law which makes impossible the use of poisonous phosphorus in the manufacture of matches; laws looking toward sanitary housing, against child labor, against wife desertion, for making education compulsory, for making the employment bureaus more efficient, regulating the loan associations—all of these laws, by lessening the conditions which make men immoral and make high ideals almost impossible, increase and strengthen the appeal to the higher nature of the individual. As long as men and women find living conditions intolerable, so long will the appeal to their better selves go unheeded.



SOME PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS

1. The community can be educated to view labor and its problems from the standpoint of Jesus.

2. There is need for a fuller acquaintance between the Church and labor leaders. At present the employers are better known within the Church than the leaders of the ranks of labor. Becoming acquainted means a better appreciation of the aims and plans of the labor organizations. The Church should prize the opportunity of having representatives in the labor meetings. It will help if an opportunity is given for the problems of industry to be presented from time to time in the Churches.

3. Expose bad conditions, agitate for better conditions. Coöperate in passing betterment laws; help enforce existing laws.

4. Familiarize the public with the social creed of the Churches. Adopt this creed as the industrial platform of each local Church.

5. Observe Labor Sunday. Wherever possible union services should be held on this day with the other Churches of the community.

6. Demand the union label, or the label of the National Consumers' League. Much depends in the last analysis on the consumer, and the only way the most of us have of knowing that the things we use are produced under right conditions is when we find the label upon them.

7. The ideal for both Church and labor: Break down in the community those things which work against man, and put in motion those forces that will produce the best community conditions.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIAL SERVICE

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I. CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL SERVICE

SOCIAL service is not the main concern of the Catholic Church. Its main concern is the spiritual life of man, not his temporal interests. Its principal aim is what it thinks the aim of Christ to have been: to help man to attain the end for which God placed him in the world; to know and to serve his Creator and thus to fit himself for the kingdom of heaven.

Hence the Catholic Church endeavors, above all things, to assist man in knowing God and his duties to God; to place and foster in his heart the proper love of God; to make him serve God by obedience to his commandments; and to encourage him in all things by the thought of heaven, his eternal reward. This, the Church says to him, is his supreme end; in comparison with this all the rest sinks into insignificance.

Yet the Church is interested in social service.

First, it sees in social service a means of removing serious obstacles to the attainment of that supreme end.

To know, love, and serve God, to prepare himself for eternal life, man must be free from excessive worldly cares. The spirit cannot perform its duties in the face of crying lower wants. Man must have a home, food, clothing for himself and his family; he must have some rest from temporal occupations, some leisure, before he can attend to his spiritual duties toward God and toward self.

To put this in a different way: the Catholic Church stands for a healthy soul, a soul capable of praising and serving God, and of forging its way to the eternal reward through the struggle of this world. But man is not a purely spiritual being; his spirit acts through the instrumentality of the body, upon which it is so dependent that its health and vigor normally suppose the healthy condition of the body. The Church therefore stands for all legitimate meas-

ures that help develop the body as well as the mind, for all measures against uncleanness, disease, consumption, for all measures that make for health, strength, purity, as long as these measures also tend to promote the interests of the spiritual life.

Again, the poor more than the wealthy are exposed to all the vices of the street, and, deprived of more refined pleasures, they may be tempted to seek the enjoyment of lower and more easily obtained satisfactions. They are thus at a disadvantage in the pursuit of the very end for which they have been created, and it is the concern of the Church to help them in that pursuit.

In the second place, it is the business of the Church to teach and enforce the principles of right conduct, for they are part of our training for heaven. Among these are the principles of justice and charity, which are at the very foundation of social service.

To put this truth in a concrete form: where principles of morality are not involved, the Catholic Church does not interfere with the liberty of its members. But the Church holds that the social question to-day, as a whole, is a moral question. For example, unjust wages and unjust conditions are answerable for many of our social problems and they arise from the lack of a moral virtue—justice. The spirit of revolt against authority and the utter disregard for public welfare as apparent in many of our strike movements also arise from the lack of moral virtue and moral training.

Moral progress has failed to keep pace with material progress in our modern civilization, and the question is: How shall we make the modern world better morally?

In the third place, one of the first commandments of the new law is, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," which is second to none, except to the first and greatest commandment: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind." It is Christ's teaching, Christ's law, and it is an essential part of the teaching and of the law of the Catholic Church.

But social service is nothing but the application of this great commandment. It is this commandment, this spirit

of love for the neighbor that has, in all ages of history and in all parts of the world, made so many men and women in the Catholic Church consecrate their lives to the service of their neighbor. And this love of neighbor is again intensified by their love of God; they love their neighbor because they see in him not only a friend and a brother, but because, whatever his faults may be, he is the image of God, the brother of Christ. They love him for God and they are ready to make all sacrifices for his sake.

And it is not only the few that are bound by this commandment, but all without exception, for it is addressed to all. Hence the duty of social service is obligatory for all Catholics. As Leo XIII. expressed it: "They are not free to choose whether they will take up the cause of the poor or not; it is a matter of simple duty." In fact, the social responsibilities of Catholics are not only toward those less favorably placed than themselves, but toward all. They begin in the circle of the family, extend to all members of the faith, and, like the charity of Christ, include all those who bear the title and dignity of man.

There is a fourth incentive to social action which, while secondary, the Church frequently places before our eyes; it is the spiritual rewards which God has annexed to the performance of good works.

Hence, while the Catholic Church does not look upon social service as its primary object even in this day of philanthropy, it thinks and believes that it is its business as a means to an end. To promote social service is to promote the making of good men and women, the making of good Christians; to help men and women to know, to love, to serve God, and thus to prepare themselves for their eternal destiny.

Spiritual View

This is the view which the Church continually insists on: that the goods of this world and the activities concerning the goods of this world must always be subordinate to higher goods and to higher activities. Earthly goods, earthly comforts, and earthly prosperity are not to be sought for their own sake.

The Church considers as a failure such social service which, bound up in the things of earth, disregards God and the immortal soul of man, that takes no account of the spiritual end and of the spiritual activity of man, of the spiritual means which come from above.

In all his social activities the Catholic must have in view heaven as the supreme end; he must never lose sight of the immortal soul of man; he must seek the kingdom of God and his justice before all else; he must remember in all things that the material betterment of man is subordinate to his spiritual betterment and to his eternal destiny.

Not nations and their temporal prosperity, but souls and their eternal salvation, are the ultimate object of social service in the Church; and for these, if necessary, all other things must be sacrificed.

The Catholic Church reminds social workers that people to-day have lost interest in the great spiritual things of life, that they are engrossed in material things, in their love for pleasure and ease, and that there must be a reaction against this deplorable and unchristian spirit.

Sin and Virtue

This spiritual view of social service manifests itself also in the importance which the Church attaches to virtue and sin as elements in social questions.

Sin, the Church tells us, is the cause of many of our social evils. It is the sin of the employer and of the capitalist that is the cause of child labor, of the sweatshop, of underpay and overwork, of insufficient protection in factories, of the death of children in unhealthy tenement houses. It is the sin of employees that causes violence and destruction and bloodshed in some of our labor troubles.

The Church teaches us also the value of virtue and character in social reform. It tells us that the love of God and of neighbor for God's sake will do more for the solution of social problems than all the efforts of a godless philanthropy; that justice, if understood and practiced by employers and employees, would soon put an end to all social troubles; that moderation and self-control are virtues

needed by the greedy, whether the object of their greed is power, fortune, pleasure, or drink.

The Catholic Church teaches the employer and the workingman and their children that they must be honest, not because honesty is the best policy, not because honesty brings credit before men, but because dishonesty is a sin, a sin liable to retribution, and because honesty is a virtue, pleasing to God and deserving of an eternal reward.

Causes

It is said sometimes that the Church deals too exclusively with symptoms and does not touch the causes of social troubles; that it practices relief, not prevention; that it relieves distress, rescues the fallen, helps the needy, consoles the sorrowful, but does not reach the cause of distress, of the fall, of the need, of the sorrow.

As a matter of fact, the spiritual view which the Church holds of social problems, and the predominant part it gives to sin as a factor in social evils and to virtue as a social remedy lead us far toward the real and ultimate causes of our social troubles.

The Catholic Church goes to the sources of social evils, to the ultimate causes, to the cause of causes, and declares that, in the last analysis, the cause of much of our social evils is sin, and the first condition of betterment is virtue.

Education

Hence the great importance the Church attaches to education. Realizing that no reform is durable unless it begins with the child, it holds that it is better to mold the conscience of the young, to make them realize their duties and responsibilities, to form them to virtuous habits, than to try to reform them after they have fallen.

Education, as the Church understands it, is much more than the imparting of secular knowledge. It means the training of the will and the heart, the inculcating of the principles of justice and charity, the teaching of the Ten Commandments, the formation of the soul in all Christian virtues.

It teaches us that the reform needed is the reform of the individual far more than the reform of our social institutions. The Church never had and never will have any economic scheme of its own. Its constant aim is to reform the individual, or still better, to "form" the individual, principally through education.

Guidance

In questions of morality, as well as of faith, we Catholics follow the authority and guidance of our Church, whose duty it is, we believe, to preserve and interpret the unchanging moral law. Hence, inasmuch as social questions have a moral bearing, we look up to our Church for guiding principles.

These principles we have in the ordinary teaching of the Church concerning justice and charity; we have them in a more special manner in the late pronouncements of Leo XIII. and Pius X., who again and again have defined the general principles involved in modern social problems.

Man, we are told, whether he be poor or rich, has natural rights, and therefore inalienable rights, such as the rights to life, to liberty, to property, to a livelihood, to marriage, to religious worship, to intellectual and moral education; and to deprive him of these rights or to interfere with them in any way is a social injustice.

We are told that no contract is valid that involves either party in a neglect of his duties or makes him partaker of an injustice.

Leo XIII. defines for us the right of the laborer to a living wage: "The laborer has a natural right, which neither he nor his employer can evade, to receive in return for his work a living wage." And he tells us what a living wage is: "The workingman has a right to a wage that will support him in decent and frugal comfort." And again: "It is but just that the laborer should be able to support himself and his family decently by the work of his hands."

Pius X. tells us that our aims as social workers should be: "To reinstate Jesus Christ in the family, the school,

and society; to reestablish the principle that human authority represents that of God."

But while the Church states principles, it leaves largely to private initiative the duty to develop and apply them. Movements are set on foot, organizations formed for such or such social purpose according to the demand of time and place. These the Church approves and encourages, or at times condemns. For instance, whenever in the course of history some new social need arises, there arise also to answer the demand religious orders or lay societies, organized by individuals or groups. These religious orders or lay societies, when they attain some standing, seek the approval not only of the bishop in whose diocese they originated but of the Church itself. At times the Church finds it necessary to condemn societies or movements for social reform because they have departed from their original purpose and methods, or from the right Christian principles. A recent illustration is the condemnation by Pius X., in 1910, of the French Catholic social movement, the "Sillon," because its leaders showed a tendency to abandon Christian principles for principles of rationalistic sociology.

II. CATHOLIC ORGANIZATIONS FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

Religious Organizations

The great bulk of the social work of the Catholic Church is in the hands of men and women who have dedicated themselves by a solemn vow to the cause of charity. Their work is known to all, at least in a general way. All have heard of the social work of the Christian Brothers in the education of children; of the Xaverian Brothers in protectories, industrial schools, homes for boys; of the Sisters of Charity in hospitals, in homes for foundlings, and for lepers; of the Little Sisters of the Poor in homes for the aged; of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd for the reformation of girls who have strayed away from the path of virtue.

But these give only a very imperfect idea of the religious social work of the Church. In the United States alone, the Catholic Church has over two hundred different

orders or societies, scattered all through the different dioceses, several of them numbering thousands of members, all consecrated for life to social service of one kind or another.

They relieve every form of misery, the sick, the lepers, the incurables, the insane, the feeble-minded, the aged, the deaf and dumb; they minister to all classes of people, children and old people, boys and girls, colored people and Indians; there is no form of social service, relief or reform, prevention or education, that is outside their field of action.

The Catholic Directory for 1913 gives us an idea of the work of religious communities for the cause of education alone. They have in this country alone 230 colleges for boys, 684 academies for girls, 5,256 parochial schools—i. e., free schools for boys and girls—288 orphan asylums, making a grand total of 1,593,316 children in Catholic institutions.

Lay Organizations

But while the great bulk of social service of the Catholic Church is in the hands of men and women who, through love of God, have dedicated themselves to the service of mankind, the lay people do not remain inactive.

There is, unknown to the world, an immense amount of private charity—that is, of direct assistance of individuals by individuals. The Church has always encouraged this charity which brings the rich and poor more closely together and is spiritually more beneficial to both. Yet the Church is not blind to the dangers of private charity, and under its approval and direction organized charity in all its different forms is flourishing in the Church.

It would be impossible to give a satisfactory enumeration of the agencies for social service carried on by the lay element of the Catholic Church, the more so as we have no directory of Catholic charities. We can only give examples taken almost at random.

Our best-known lay organization for social service is probably the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, a society of Catholic laymen which, founded in Paris in 1833 by Fred-

erick Ozanam, has spread all over the world. Its purpose is the sanctification of the members through personal service of the poor, or rather the service of God in the persons of the poor. The conference in each parish is the unit of action. In Atlanta alone we have three active conferences.

The *St. Vincent de Paul Quarterly*, the organ of the Society in the United States, gives us an idea of its work. For instance, in New York in one year over 50,000 visits were made to the homes of the poor, and 10,000 families were assisted. In 1911, 2,317 children of the tenements received a two weeks' free summer outing at Spring Valley, while their tired mothers and the working girls of the family were also given the benefit of a short country rest; 3,788 boys were entertained regularly in four different clubs. In Manhattan and Bronx more than \$100,000 a year is being distributed by the Society in the homes of the worthy poor, without mentioning all the other good works of the Society.

Closely connected with the St. Vincent de Paul Society are different societies of women—*e. g.*, the Ladies of Charity of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, Daughters of the Queen of Heaven, or Queen's Daughters, as they are called. Their purpose is to supplement the work of the conferences of St. Vincent de Paul. Their main activity is the same: to visit the poor in their homes and to assist them by counsel and material aid. But they also conduct other social undertakings, boarding houses for working women, day nurseries, Saturday industrial schools, clubrooms for working girls and women, employment bureaus; they attire children for school and Church, visit and help Catholics and others in hospitals and public institutions; they attend the juvenile courts and act as volunteer probation officers; they find good Catholic homes for dependent children; they meet young girls at the trains and help them to find quarters and work.

Catholics control many societies in behalf of immigrants. The first of these societies was the Irish Emigrants' Society, founded in 1841, through the efforts of Bishop Hughes, to

afford advice, aid, and protection to Irish emigrants and generally to promote their welfare. It still takes good care of the newcomers from Ireland. In connection with this work, the late Miss Charlotte Grace O'Brien established in 1881, under the patronage of Cardinal McCloskey, a society for the protection of Irish emigrant girls, with its headquarters at the Mission of Our Lady of the Holy Rosary. This society watches over, guides, and assists at the landing depot girls who intend to proceed by rail or steamship to a further destination; examines the claims of relatives and friends who call for the immigrants at the Mission; provides a home free of charge for girls whose friends do not call on the day of arrival, or who have no friends, or are unable to proceed on their journey; tries to locate relatives of those who bring indefinite addresses; secures positions in good families for those ready to go to work. Up to date more than 100,000 girls have been received at the home, and employment secured for over 12,000, all free of charge.

German, Austrian, Polish, Italian, French, and Belgian Catholic Societies have established houses or missions for the same purpose in the principal seaports of the United States.

But we have also societies working on the same lines in inland cities. For instance, the Catholic Women League of Chicago tries to reach directly or through other societies of the same order young persons, young girls particularly, intending to come to Chicago, so that its agents may meet them at the train and conduct them to safe lodgings and honorable employment.

The Catholic Colonization Society, indorsed by all the archbishops of the United States, has bureaus in the different dioceses, especially in the most sparsely settled regions which are calling for immigration. The aim of the society is to help immigrants to locate not only where they will have the best opportunities of success, but where they will find people of their faith, of their language, and the proper aid for the practice of their religion and for the Catholic education of their children.

Besides these societies organized for some definite form of social service, the Catholic Church has a very large number of societies of men and women who, believing in the doctrine of self-help, ally themselves for their own temporal and spiritual improvement, but who, by their social action, do much also to improve society at large. Their fundamental objects are practically the same everywhere: Religion and virtue first, good fellowship and coöperation next, then diversion and recreation; but they do not neglect social service. The Young Men National Union, the Young Men Catholic Institute, the Knights of Columbus are not satisfied with working for the interest of the members, but much social work outside. For instance, the Knights of Columbus support Catholic charities bureaus, employment bureaus, free hospital beds, day nurseries; they give free scholarships in colleges and universities, and manage lecture bureaus and lecture courses.

Besides, almost every one of our 9,500 parishes in the United States has its various organizations covering practically all members of the parish; there is generally an organization for men, another for women, a third for boys, and a fourth for girls; and these different societies, while having in view primarily the spiritual good of the members, also contribute their share by their charities and otherwise to the social service of the Catholic Church.

Federation

There is a tendency to-day to federate these different societies, in imitation of the Catholic Federations of Europe, in order that better understanding and coöperation may be brought about. In the different dioceses in the country at large there are federations either of all the Catholic societies, or of Catholic societies having a definite social purpose.

The United Catholic Works of New York was founded recently for the purpose of enlisting the interest and activity of every Catholic of New York in the various Catholic works of charity, protection, education, and social reform that are already in existence, and to develop others that are needed.

Its program includes: (1) Works of charity proper, like settlements and day nurseries, clubs and boarding houses for boys and girls, fresh-air accommodations and summer outings, convalescent homes, care of the poor; (2) protection, like Catholic protective bureaus, employment bureaus, juvenile courts, probation work, reform of men and women released from prison, protectories, detention homes for wayward girls, protection of immigrants; (3) education, like education of the blind, of the deaf and dumb, or other defectives; (4) social reform, like movements for the regulation of child labor, proper housing and sanitation, work-room surroundings, just wages and hours of labor for men and women.

The National Conference of Catholic Charities meets biennially in Washington to assist the different local organizations in their work and to afford an opportunity to social workers to exchange views and plans.

Not only has the American Federation of Catholic Societies a department of social service, but many of its general resolutions are of the highest interest in the field of social reform. The tenth national convention of the Federation, held in Columbus, Ohio, August 23, 1911, passed resolutions opposing divorce on whatever ground, and pledging the Federation to lead a movement to repeal laws permitting absolute divorce; sympathizing in every legitimate effort to obtain a living wage, reasonable hours, protection of life and limb, workingmen's compensation, decent and healthful conditions in the home, shop, factory, and mine; protesting against propagandas which teach class hatred, advocate confiscation of private property, make marriage a mockery, deny parental rights and responsibilities, and proclaim State control and even "ownership of children"; indorsing all unions in behalf of labor which are based on Christian principles.

Catholic social workers are further enlightened on social service by special organizations for the study of social questions. For instance, the Social Reform Press publishes many pamphlets and leaflets on social questions and issues the *Common Cause*, a monthly magazine, the purpose of

which is "to tell men and women of America what socialism really is—what its principles are and what their adoption would mean to the individual as well as to the nation." The Militia of Christ for Social Service was organized in 1911 by social workers, particularly the Catholic officials of the American Federation of Labor, to defend Christian society according to the teachings of Leo XIII. and Pius X.

These organizations are given only as illustrations; for they are by no means a fair enumeration of our most important societies for social service. They are given to illustrate the principle in Catholic charities set forth in the beginning of this paper, and to show that, while the Catholic Church is not directly interested in social service, and while its activity in that field has a further and higher end than mere temporal service, yet it contributes, through its lay, and above all through its religious, organizations a generous share to the general movement toward the uplift of modern society.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCH AND SOCIAL SERVICE

REV. CHARLES S. MACFARLAND, D.D., SECRETARY, THE FEDERAL
COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN
AMERICA, NEW YORK CITY

THERE is no doubt that Father Dubois is justified in his large inclusion of Catholic charity and mercy under the general term of "social service." I should be misunderstood, however, if I did not make it clear that I am using the term in a different sense, with a predominating emphasis on social justice. In the background of my consciousness I am thinking of social service not so much as social repair as social reconstruction.

It is not without significance to note that the framers of this program speak of the Protestant *Church*; and it is of interest and moment that the new age of the Church, marked by the deepening and now perfecting sense of social

obligation, is also an era of coöperation and unification of Churches whose politics and doctrines have, until now, confused them in the very expression of their common moral, social, and, indeed, their spiritual consciousness.

The relations of cause and effect are in this instance mutual and reciprocal. Social service has been able to assume its more commanding place within the Church because of this deepening sense of unity in fatherhood and brotherhood, but undoubtedly still more has Christian unity advanced because the social obligation could not be met except by a united Church.

While the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America does not constitute, as yet, an all-inclusive Protestant Evangelical Church, it is a momentous, historic achievement to unite in its official and organic coöperation thirty denominations; and in this the Church's social mission and that of uniting her forces were not only parallel and simultaneous movements, but each was the cause of which the other was effect. How much farther we may go it is not easy yet to prophesy, but it may be that the call of social service may yet present tasks demanding a yet larger unity, and the blending of varying elements in this program may, in the providence of God, be not only a forecast but a prophecy.

My message to this Congress this year will thus consider together these two interrelated and largely identical movements of Protestantism, Christian Unity and Social Service, which are becoming the two inseparable and incomparable movements of the day and generation.

We live in an era of consolidation and coöperation, of efficiency and progress, and we have learned that these are synonymous terms. None of us, in the ordinary interests of our common life, defends the original or aboriginal method of competition as against a coöperation which is good in its objective and intent. By efficiency we mean a scientific management, through the conservation of energy and the elimination of waste, by which we make the largest use of power and attain the greatest possible results from the smallest investment.

One of our most startling discoveries is that we have been so sadly and thoughtlessly wasteful. We have wasted our mineral wealth, squandered our forests, and have allowed the mighty forces of our streams to run out into an un-needing sea.

Worse still, in the development of industry, and by social neglect, we have wretchedly wasted our human power and, as our new legislation witnesses, we have been criminally prodigal with human life itself. We have poisoned, neglected, maimed, and mangled by our inefficient speeding up, by our twelve-hour days and seven-day weeks. While we have wasted the forests, that make the mines, we have also wasted by thousands our human brothers in the mines, have slaughtered and despoiled our women, and have consumed our babes beyond the count of Herod in our suffocated cities, while we had half a continent of fresh air. In our commercial development we have sacrificed innocent human life upon its altar and have given over our little children to an industrial Moloch with outstretched iron arms, saying, "Let little children come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of Mammon." And if we, followers of Christ, are content to disavow the blame, let us remember that in the same breath in which the Master said that to neglect these little ones was to forget himself, he also condemned men, in his most severe and solemn utterance, for the things they *didn't* do.

But these are not an intimation of the worst of our dissipations, and indeed these wastes have been largely because of a deeper and more serious prodigality. We have let the very light within us become darkness, and the saddest of them all has been the wanton waste of our moral powers, our finer emotions, and our religious enthusiasms, largely through sectarian divisions, denominational rivalries, and unrestrained caprice, masking itself or deluding itself as a religious loyalty.

If one-thousandth part of our effort for redemption had been given to prevention, we should not now stand as we do, trembling, shamefaced, and bewildered before the haggard results of our own social havoc. Our worst and our most

wanton profligacy has been the casting to the four winds of our ultimate power, the power of our religious enthusiasm and our spiritual impulse, because they were neither socially concentrated nor socially interpreted and applied.

Let us for a moment face the facts. One of our most important Christian endeavors is that of our home missions, which is nothing less than the undertaking of the conquest and the moral development of a new nation. It was the earliest and one of the most potent forms of social service on the part of the Church and it was the beginning of a multitude of new social movements. Its leaders, like Oberlin, built roads and highways for religion and, like Marcus Whitman, blazed the trails of civilization across a continent. This work, however, the Church has recklessly attempted without serious forethought or prearranged plan. Sometimes it has been carried on in conflict between the very forces attempting it, and even when sympathetic it has not been coöperative. And the result, time upon time, has been that, like the intrepid discoverers in the antarctic seas, religious enterprise has perished within the reach of plenty; just because it was not social. Three years ago the Committee on Home Missions of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America investigated the State of Colorado. One hundred and thirty-three communities were found, ranging in population from one hundred and fifty to one thousand souls, without Protestant Churches of any kind, one hundred of them being also without a Roman Catholic Church. And they were places of deep need in rural and mining sections. In addition to these there were four hundred and twenty-eight towns large enough to have post offices, but without any Churches, and whole counties were discovered without any adequate religious service.

The seriousness of the other problem of overlapping is indicated by a town of four hundred people in the same State with four Churches, all supported by home mission aid, and this but one of many like it.

This investigation was followed by the Home Missions Council in fifteen Western States, in what was called the Neglected Fields Survey. In one State seventy-five thousand

people resided five miles or more from a church. A rich valley with a population of five thousand, capable of supporting fifty thousand people, had but one church. In another State fourteen counties had but three permanent places in each for worship. One county in another State had a rural population of nine thousand with no religious ministry except that supplied by the Mormon hierarchy. Another county with a rural population of eighteen thousand had regular services in only three of its school districts.

And these are but hasty suggestions from this report, made, mark you, within the past two years. The social problems raised by Home Missions have been a determining factor in the development of Christian unity.

One of the finest expressions of our religious enthusiasms has been the carrying of a Christian civilization to the peoples of the earth and the far-off islands of the sea.

It is safe to say, in view of the marvelous things accomplished in spite of our internecine ravages, that had there been united or federated effort, a Christian society would now be spread in social power over the whole earth. But we did not bring to the infant vision of the heathen a gospel. We brought Gospels. At least so it seemed to them.

If we ourselves can see to-day the wrong of our sad and haggard divisiveness, what wonder that to the uncultivated eyes and ears of the heathen it looked, not like the approach of human love, but, as it certainly did look to them, like the approach of those who could not truly love them if, as it seemed, they did not love each other? For half a century we went to the East, not with the persuasion of the tongues of Pentecost, but with the confusion of the tongues of Babel.

What wonder that those who could not learn our language, and whose language we could not speak intelligently, seemed to find themselves under the necessity of acquiring, not one speech, but many new languages, in order that they might learn the vocabulary of our social brotherhood?

If waste is the cause of inefficiency, surely we have demonstrated it in our approach to the heathen world, and our deepest encouragement may perhaps be drawn from it, for

if they could discover, as they finally did, what we were trying to say in so many confusing tongues, how simple is our task when we all come to speak one language and make it clear that we are there upon one holy mission!

The development of a new and complex social order about us was getting ready for the call of a persuasive and effective gospel. New foes were arising on every hand. They were all united, and we found ourselves facing federated vice, the federated saloon, federated corruption in political life, federated human exploitation, and then all these together multiplied in one strong federation, the federation of commercialized iniquity. All of these were bound together in a solemn league and covenant, and the reason they so confidently faced a derided Church was because they faced a divided one.

On the one hand were the federations of labor and on the other hand federations of capital, girding themselves for their terrific conflict, waiting the voice which should speak with power and influence, that should quell their human hatreds.

Problems of social justice were looking to us with beseeching voice, and we found ourselves obliged to face them, or, worse still, to shun them, with shame upon our faces and with a bewildered consciousness, because we had no common articulation of a code of spiritual principles or moral laws. Our spiritual authority was not equal to our human sympathy, because it was divided.

On all these things we had a multitude of voices trying to express the same consciousness, but the great world of men did not know it. Why should they know it when we had not found it out ourselves? We spoke with voices, but not with a voice.

We have not altogether passed this situation. Within the past few weeks I found in a near-by State a city with one saloon to every eighteen voters, filled with pool rooms and vicious amusement resorts, a city in which the number of illegitimate births reported during the year was appalling. And after I had met with the Protestant pastors of that city for a few hours I learned, to my amazement, that it

was the first time that they had ever come together to consider their common problems. And not only that, but it was with exceeding difficulty that I then restrained them from engaging in a controversy over a trivial matter of procedure.

Very nearly up to our own day the Church has faced united iniquity while there has been scarcely a city in which it could be said, in any real or serious sense, that its Churches moved as one great force. And in many a town and rural village we yet have Churches wearying themselves to death in a vain struggle for competitive existence, or suffering from that worst of diseases, to be "sick with their brothers' health."

What wonder that we have lost, not only our Sabbath as a day of worship, but our Sunday as a day of rest! What wonder that we have lost our civic virtue! Why are we surprised that we have lost not only our temperance laws but also our temperate ways? Why should we be astonished that with the loss of these we have also lost our sons and filled our houses of refuge with our daughters? Why should we wonder that the rich have left us for their unrestrained, unholy pleasure and the poor because we had no united sense and power of social justice to restrain an industry that devoured widows' houses and that bound heavy burdens grievous to be borne, especially when this was sometimes done by those who for a pretense made long prayers? What wonder that, with disintegrated religions which gave no adequate sense of religion, the home should lose its sacredness and the family become the easy prey of easy divorce and of unholy marriage? Still we went on singing, "Like a mighty army moves the Church of God." And when we come to resolve it to its final analysis the only trouble was that we did not sing together.

Leave for a moment the larger review and consider the work of our individual Churches and the loss of their constituency. I say the loss of their constituency because the Church cannot be said to gain or even hold its own if it simply fills its vacancies. Many Churches have marked time, year upon year, and thought that they were moving because they kept their feet in motion.

The age became a migratory one. Here was a root difficulty in our social disorder. The family left one city for another. It drifted, by the necessities of industry, from place to place. And because we had no provision for shepherding the sheep that left one fold for another, they wandered about just outside some other fold. If the family, say, from one Baptist Church moved near another Baptist Church, there was some hope. But in at least half the cases they did not.

For a study in efficiency visit the average city on a Sunday night and measure the power of, say, one thousand people, scattered among twenty-five or thirty churches, when they might, with the contagion of human impact, be gathered into one, with a manifold and constantly increasing power, which, with wise direction, would send them back to fill the empty churches whence they came and to become and to exert a social conscience.

As in the home mission fields, so in our cities. We have whole sections religiously dying and socially decaying because they are without any Churches, while other sections right beside them die because they have too many Churches to be supported. Effective distribution is as yet, in every city, either an undiscovered art or at best a feeble effort. Our rural communities are in a like situation because there has been no concert of action. The so-called rural problem as a social perplexity has arisen almost entirely from the disunity of our religious forces, and we might as well admit it.

Then, for many, many years we had fervently prayed that God would open the doors of the heathen world and let us in to take care of the heathen as our inheritance. God always gives us more than we ask; and so he not only did that, but he opened our doors and poured the heathen in upon us. When the immigrant came he became, as often as not, an American patriot before there was time for him to become an American citizen. He assimilated everything except our religious impulse. He learned the language of our daily speech because we have only one language to be mastered. But our religion presented to him too many

tongues. And why should we wonder that he could not distinguish between them?

He met centrifugal forces which repelled and not a centripetal force which might have been an irresistible attraction. He found a united democracy and he became a part of it the day he landed. He saw the unity of ideal in our public schools, and he made it his own. And if we had met him with a united brotherhood of the Church, he would have felt the mass impact of religion as he felt everything else and he would have yielded to it.

Why is it that we have not sooner found ourselves in all the pressing problems of social regeneration? It is because we are still discussing our alleged differences which do not exist except in our discussion. The specious differentiation between personal regeneration and social salvation is a divergence purely in philosophy and not in fact.

Then, to witness our initial attempts at integration. We began our interdenominational movements and organizations. It was and it is a movement in the right direction, and yet it must be confessed that to-day one of the greatest problems of religious federation is the federation of these federations.

Out of the force of the Church sprang our reform agencies, which were subject, not only to moral impulse, but also to human caprice, and another of our problems is the federating of all or the elimination of some of these.

Then when we began our federative movements in local communities we simply multiplied our groups. The Bible classes of the community were formed into a federation; also the boys' clubs, the Church temperance groups, and the men's clubs. The ministers separated themselves off from their Churches, or assumed that they were their Churches, and formed ministerial associations, listened sometimes to papers on the authorship of the fourth Gospel, but only occasionally, and not with very serious intent, to the common problems of their community life. We had to begin this way because we were afraid of bringing the Churches together.

Every once in a while, generally not oftener than once in four or five years, the wave of evangelistic power would

strike the community. The evangelist came, rallied the united forces of the Churches for a week, then went away, and we strangely supposed that what it was perfectly clear could be begun only by united action could be kept up and developed without it, and the Churches fell apart sometimes a little farther than they were before.

Meanwhile every force, every movement, every single group gathered to oppose the Church was making its common compact with its common stock and its evenly divided dividends.

The wonder is not that we have not gained more ground. We have here a wonderful testimony to the power of the gospel and its unquenchable fire that the light of religion did not go out altogether.

We give all sorts of reasons for it. But it was not because we were not thinking right. It was not because we were not thinking alike. It was not because we were worshipping differently or because our politics were different. It was simply that we didn't work and act together upon the tasks in which we were in absolute agreement. We were confused in our self-consciousness. We conceived our Churches and our sects as ends in themselves, rather than as the means to the one end that we have always had in common. We remembered that we were of Paul, or of Apollos, while we forgot that we were all of Christ, and that all things were ours. We were losing our lives because we were trying to save them.

So much for the facts of history. Let us now seek the vision of prophecy. This reckless prodigality of moral power and spiritual impulse was not because the Church was becoming an apostate Church. It was not because she was leaving an old theology or because she was rejecting a new one. Taken as a whole, her views were becoming larger and her vision finer. In certain ways she was creating greater forces. But her forces were spent because her attack on sin was not concerted, and because she was not conscious of her own inherent unity. The Church and ministry went on doing their unrelated work, gaining a keener moral sense and stronger ethical gospel. The Church

and her gospel were creating the very unrest that was crying out for social justice. And even while the Church was losing the toilers she was preparing for their social emancipation. She was continually creating larger opportunities which, however, she was failing to meet because of her divided moral forces.

We now feel that something very different is to be done.

It is interesting that the first serious movement toward federation was in the foreign field. The missionaries began to send back word that they could not make their way by using such confusing tongues. They sent imperative messages to us that they must get together, not only in order to impress the gospel upon the heathen, but for their own self-preservation. Both Christian Unity and Social Service are largely reflex actions from the field of foreign missions.

Now, throughout the heathen world we are rapidly multiplying union Church movements. In India we have the South India United Church of nine different denominations, and another federation is under way in Central India. These foreign Federal Councils are being organized, not on the basis of common forms of worship, but are being grouped by the languages or dialects which their people speak. They are formed on social units.

In West China a movement has in view one Protestant Christian Church for that entire important part of the new Chinese republic. The same story is coming back to us from Korea and the Philippines. Japan has dissolved its tentative and voluntary evangelical alliance and now has an official federation of eight denominations.

Practically all of the mission schools are interdenominational and federated. There come to my desk every week something like two hundred and fifty different home religious publications, most of them being, or alleging to be, denominational organs. On the other hand, in the heathen field their publications are common and interdenominational. Thus are our little children leading us.

In fact, if we should in this country only follow the example of the foreign field, we should make a progress that would surprise ourselves. The recent splendid call of the

republic of China for the prayers of the Christian Churches of China and the world is the clear issue of a social gospel.

The main point, however, upon which we are finding our most common approach is in the new emphasis which we are giving, because we are forced to give it, to the nearer social problems of our day. Here, at least, we find no true reason for differentiation. No one will argue that there are Methodist Episcopal saloons; or such a thing as Baptist child labor, or Congregationalist vice, or Presbyterian sweatshops, or Episcopal Tammany Halls.

Not only do we thus find no sensible reason for division, but we have very quickly discovered that we shall meet this opportunity in unity or else we shall not meet it at all. Social regeneration must have a social approach. The social tasks and problems of a city cannot be met by any Church except in common conference with every other Church.

This application of the gospel to the needs of the world is what is giving us our unity. When we get together upon our common task, we cannot help forgetting, for the time being at least, the things which have divided us because we find ourselves in unity upon those two laws upon which Jesus said the whole law and the prophets hung, on love to God and love to man. We are facing our common foe of commercialized vice, of human exploitation together, and we are receiving abuse. As we stand side by side it becomes impossible for us to do anything but love our fellow Christians, and we are willing that they should make their intellectual expression of religion according to their own type of mind, and that they should worship after their own forms and customs.

We have made, only within the past few days, another great discovery. We have discovered that evangelism and social service are not only inseparable now and forever, but are one and the same. In other words, when we get together seriously upon the work of social service we find that we are together upon what we thought was the remote work of evangelism.

The evangelist is to proclaim the full Fatherhood of God—a God who rules his household with the unwavering

hand of justice and with a heart of love. Thus the invocation of the heavens for divine justice and the cry of an Infinite affection meet and mingle with every human cry that rises upward for human justice or of human suffering. A true father will not let his children hurt each other, either by malice or neglect, and he does not love the strong child better than he does the weak.

We feel a deeper and more tormenting sense of sin, a profounder consciousness of the eternal truth, that a sin, whether of indifference or intent, against our brother or our sister, is an offense against an outraged and righteously indignant God, that social morals and personal religion are one and inseparable now and forever, and that God is not a seller of indulgences at any price.

The third article of our evangelical message is the absolute certitude of judgment. Shall not God avenge those whose cries come up to him day and night? Yea, speedily he shall avenge them.

The final message is redemption, the redemption of the individual in the world, and through him of the world itself, and there is no redemption of either without the redemption of the other.

The gospel is outgrown, the Christian pulpit is superfluous, the Church of the living Christ goes out of existence when the truths of the gospel, the vocabulary of the preacher, and the constitution of the Church no longer contain the words "God," "sin," "judgment," and "redemption," and they are gigantic and capacious words, belonging to a vocabulary that can interpret the whole universe of right and wrong, both individual and social. They are applicable to every problem in God's world. Thus nearly all the things belong together that we have thought apart.

In fact, we have discovered that while we were praying for a revival of religion we were really in the midst of what promises to be one of the greatest revivals that this world has ever known. Our present sensitive social conscience simply means that we have a "second blessing" and that we are again passing through the experience of religion. How on earth can there be any jot or tittle of difference be-

tween saving one man at a time or saving two? between regenerating an individual and sanctifying a whole city full of individuals?

The only difference between a true social evangelism and what we used to consider by that word is that the mourners' bench and mercy seat are full. We come, not one by one, but all are on our knees together. True social service is simply evangelism a hundred or a thousand fold.

Is it any less holy to crush out a den of vice than it is to regenerate a vicious man? Here again our differences are only in our use of terms, and not in reality and fact. Go to commercialized vice and to industrial injustice and say to them, "We will make the laws tighter," and they will answer, "Very well, we will find ways to break them." Go and say to them, "We will make our courts stronger," and they will answer to themselves, if they do not to us, "The political power of our money is stronger than any court of justice."

But suppose you could go to them and say, "The Churches of this city, all of them, have gotten together. They are thinking, planning, and moving as one man to crush you." They might doubt it; but if they did not doubt it, they would fear it as they have not feared even the Almighty himself.

Now for these common tasks we are discovering, faster than we admit it, and we are conscious of it faster even than we express it to ourselves, that for these common missions we require no changes of our symbols or of the intellectual expression of our religious faith. We have passed the periods of both division and of toleration and we are entering that of serious coöperation. While Christian unity as a sentiment is everywhere in the air, it is taking perhaps two concrete forms.

The first is that which finds expression in such movements as the Christian Unity Foundation and the proposed World Conference of Faith and Order. But there is another form of Christian unity which is possible without waiting for any Conference on Faith or Order. The principle of evolution is that of passing from the indefinite, incoherent, homogeneous to the definite, coherent, heterogeneous. That

is simply to say that denominationalism may be considered as a mark of human progress. Denominationalism and sectarianism are not the same thing.

Diversity rather than uniformity is the expression of evolution. But God has put into our human order another principle of progress together with that of diversity; and everywhere in the order which he has made we find mingling together unity and diversity.

I think that the movement of which the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America is the most concrete expression is an illustration of this principle of progress. Federal unity is, I think, stronger and more vital than any other form of unity now possible, because it is unity with freedom and because unity is stronger without uniformity than with it. Federal unity is a larger immediate possibility than the unity of faith and order, because it is so much simpler a process. It takes less time. We may all join ourselves to the common task and gird our garments just as strong whether or not our outward habiliments are just alike.

Getting together in action saves a tremendous amount of the time unnecessarily spent in mental processes, because by getting together in action we find that we really are thinking alike without taking the time to do it by a philosophical process. I am sometimes asked if I think it probable that the thirty denominations which are the constituent bodies of the Federal Council will hold together in permanent unity, and my answer is this: There is less differentiation and distance between the two remotest bodies now in that Council than the differentiation and distance between the two wings of any one of these denominations. That is to say, we are closer together in this larger inclusiveness than we are within ourselves.

I should be willing to predict that within ten years there will be no self-respecting city where the Churches are not bound together in some form of effective federation.

Federal unity, however, recognizes the two principles of progress, differentiation and coherence. It recognizes that the kingdom of God does not mean solitariness on the

one hand or uniform consolidation on the other. It is simply genuine coöperation without regard to the ultimate result upon ourselves. It is not trying to get men to think alike or to think together. It is willing that the army should be composed of various regiments with differing uniforms, with differing banners, and even, if necessary, with different bands of music at appropriate intervals, provided they move together, face the same way, uphold each other, and fight the common foe of the sin of the world with a common love for the Master of their souls, for each other, and for mankind.

Such a Church is absolutely irresistible. According to biblical arithmetic, if one can chase one thousand, two cannot only put twice as many but ten thousand to flight; and if you multiply according to this arithmetic until you reach the twenty million Protestant Church members in this country, you can gain some estimate of what God intends that we should do.

I have discovered, I think, this interesting fact: that it is possible, almost always, to get the Churches into Christian unity, provided you can prevent them from discussing Christian unity. I am not asking men any more to come together from the various Churches to hold a conference with me on the question of Christian unity. I am willing to talk with them upon almost any other subject but that. The important thing is to get them together to show them the common social task—a task which absolutely cannot be done unless they do it together—and leave them to draw their own inference as to their duty, and as to the will of God and the Spirit of Christ.

The social task of the Protestant Church and its call for united action are one and inseparable, now and forever.

The men and women of this Congress, who have been showing the Church her social obligation, have builded better than they knew. In their revelation of her social task they have been uniting her divided forces. Meanwhile the Church has been the archcreator of the deepest and the greatest of the social problems which now demand that she act as one great social power. When the task is completed

and she becomes the conscience, the interpreter, and the guide of the social order, and when the spiritual authority which she possesses is translated into one common tongue and her voices become one mighty voice, the gates of hell shall no longer prevail against her, and she will be no longer weak and helpless before the haggard, sullen, and defiant face of injustice, inhumanity, and heartless neglect, and she will be able to take care of all her children—and her children are humanity.

Finally, then, brethren, the creative work of home missions can be conceived, to-day and to-morrow, only by a Protestant Church with the social vision and impulse, and can only be performed by unity and comity.

And only by these selfsame tokens can the heathen lands be redeemed; the heathen of those lands who come to us be shaped into a Christian democracy; the Christian Sabbath be saved; the Christian home preserved in sacred purity; our boys delivered from the hosts of sin; our girls delivered from the lust of men; the people redeemed from injustice and oppression; our evangelism be redemptive, and the Christian Church itself saved from becoming atrophied and from the contempt of the world; by an immediate sweeping social vision and an instant sense of genuine and earnest unity, through which and by which only her spiritual authority can make the kingdoms of this world the kingdom of our Lord.

THE SOCIAL SERVICE PROGRAM OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

S. W. M'GILL, NASHVILLE, TENN.

THE Young Men's Christian Association is a pioneer in the work of social service. Beginning its work a little more than sixty years ago for the purpose of improving the religious condition of young men, the Association has followed a progressive program which has brought results far be-

yond what its founders dreamed. Within the short space of the life of an individual the Association has achieved results which are remarkable. A summary of the reports of the Associations of North America shows the following:

Number of Associations.....	2,218
Association members	587,665
Members serving on committees.....	80,613
Students in evening educational classes.....	70,198
Students in Bible classes.....	105,652
Attendance at religious meetings.....	4,260,298
Attendance at boys' religious meetings.....	480,107
Attendance at physical education features.....	317,729
Situations secured	44,304
Net value of property	\$74,614,293
Annual local current expenses	\$10,812,460
Employed officers	3,633

The original purpose of the Association was religious. After sixty years of work it continues to be a distinctly religious and Christian organization.

The Association has given a new interpretation to religion. By its progressive program it has been able to secure the attention and enlist the interest of large numbers of men and boys in religion who otherwise might not have been reached. Early in its history the Association discovered social needs in the lives of men. A program of social activities was therefore added. The Association also discovered that the religious life of men had a physical basis. The physical work was therefore undertaken. These attractions were originally added as "baits" to lure young men into the Association in order that they might be brought under religious influence. This notion was quickly outgrown, however, for the Association found that these attractions in themselves had religious value. Educational classes, employment bureaus, relief departments, and other features were added from time to time in the effort to meet the growing needs in the lives of young men. So strong has the conviction become that the entire program of the Association is religious that the modern Association has no Religious Work Department for the reason that its whole work is religious.

THE SOCIAL CENTER PROBLEM

The Association is contributing to the solution of the problem of providing a place of wholesome resort for boys and young men. It is making a large contribution to the solution of the sociological problem which is at the root of the saloon evil. Many men frequent saloons, not because they love to drink, but for social fellowship and for the lack of a better place to go. The Association is a place of resort and as such has an important service to render. With 168 hours in the week, if young men sleep 56 hours and work 60 hours and attend Church every one of the five hours which the Church is open at most, there are still 47 idle hours to be accounted for.

"The Association believes that society will not be safe until its pleasures are stronger than its temptations." It therefore seeks to maintain a social program which will prove attractive to boys and young men and restrain them from frequenting places of evil resort. In its effort to meet this need the Association is open to all young men of every creed, of no creed, and of every class.

The average daily attendance at Association buildings is reported as 222,971, which means that more than eighty million young men of North America frequent the buildings of the Young Men's Christian Association during the year.

THE HEALTH PROBLEM

The Association believes that the Association has a religious basis. While it is true that the physical work of the Association was originally undertaken merely as an attraction to young men, it has now become one of its most wholesome features and an efficient religious measure. The Association believes that the salvation of men's bodies is real religious work. In every instance the physical work of the Association is under the direction and care of trained Christian physical directors. Some have been disposed to criticise the Association for the emphasis placed upon physical education. For example, it is unfair to say that an Association had 1,500 young men in physical education classes and 600 young men in religious meetings, therefore

the religious work was being overshadowed. The Association would say that a total of 2,100 young men had come under the helpful religious influence of the organization.

The Association is contributing to the solution of the health problem through its physical education classes, its lectures on health and hygiene, the organization of health clubs, the provision of baths and swimming pools, the operation of summer camps, the direction of outings and "hikes," the establishment and supervision of playgrounds, and the coöperation with those agencies established for the purpose of promoting community health and hygiene.

The annual report of the Association shows that during the past year 300,590 different boys and young men received the benefits of the physical privileges of the Association. Six hundred and thirteen gymnasiums are maintained with 175,433 young men enrolled in physical education classes. In addition to the work maintained in the buildings the Association has conducted extension work with an attendance of 448,144 different men. The summer camps were attended by 22,502 boys and young men and 37,582 different persons were taught to swim in the Association swimming classes.

The physical director of the Association occupies a splendid point of vantage and has unlimited opportunity for the promotion of health and hygienic ideas in the community. The plan of requiring physical examinations of young men living in the Association buildings or using the Association physical features offers great opportunity for constructive and preventive health measures. In a single afternoon one physical director examined fourteen high school boys in a Southern city. Three of these boys were suffering from tobacco heart or nervous troubles, from the use of cigarettes. Eight of them had at the time or had previously had venereal diseases. Three of the boys showed traces of tuberculosis. There was not a sound physical specimen among the entire fourteen. These boys came from a high school where the Association had been denied admission on the ground that the school authorities could not allow advertising among the pupils. The after-

noon's work of the physical director opened the way for a comprehensive program for the development of health. Equally interesting and convincing statements might be made regarding the physical education work and promotion of health among older business men whose vitality has been sapped and physical energy destroyed by the conditions of our urban life.

THE PROBLEM OF EMPLOYMENT

"Continued unemployment creates lost souls whom the Church rarely succeeds in restoring to divine manhood." From the standpoint of the man who works the finding of employment is one of the largest problems of the day. The man out of a job is scarcely in a mood to consider any other question, no matter how vitally it may affect the welfare of others or even himself.

The Association through its employment bureau has made some startling discoveries. It often occurs that the problem of finding a man for a position is little less difficult than that of finding a position for a man. The Association employment bureau is endeavoring to solve, and in large measure is solving, both problems. The yearbook of the Association reports that positions were found for 41,805 different men during the past year.

THE PROBLEM OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Large sums, and yet none too large, are being devoted to the higher education of young men. When we remember the fact that for every two young men in college or university there are ninety-eight young men who either from neglect or from necessity do not enjoy the privileges of such education, we discover the field for supplemental education. Many a young man wakes up a bit too late to realize that he is not fitted by education for life's duties and opportunities. It is here that the educational department of the Young Men's Christian Association steps in.

The Association has come to be one of the largest educational institutions in the world. In point of numbers enrolled it is second only to the public school system. The

report for the past year shows that 70,198 different students were enrolled in Y. M. C. A. evening educational classes. The classes offered consisted of practical branches just as would be of benefit to men in their daily tasks. Among the subjects taught were mechanical drawing, free-hand drawing, architectural drawing, business arithmetic, shorthand, typewriting, bookkeeping, salesmanship, advertising, window-dressing, show card writing, law, chemistry, real estate, sloyd work, smithing, forging, plumbing, bricklaying, etc.

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM

The Association is seeking to transform the lives of young men from liabilities to assets. In many communities the wasted hours, the wasted energies, and the wasted talents of young men form a very serious problem. The young men of a community ought to prove to be the community's greatest asset.

The Association through its relief department is meeting a large need in the lives of young men. The establishment of relief loan funds in many Associations has proved to be a great boon to many a young man in tiding him over a rough place.

The Association is endeavoring to promote habits of thrift on the part of boys and young men. To this end Associations have established savings banks. Although the results in some instances have not been altogether satisfactory, there has been sufficient encouragement to believe that there is a real opportunity here for social service work.

One of the greatest problems in the Association is that of dealing with the problem of gambling. The gambling spirit is rife in our city centers and young men by the hundreds are being devoured by its allurements.

THE HOUSING PROBLEM

The rooms for men in the modern Association building are recognized as the best substitute yet found for home for young men who are compelled to live away from home.

In many cities 65 per cent of our young men are quartered in boarding houses. In some cities the figures go as

high as 82 per cent. It is true that many a boarding home is conducted in such a way as to contribute as largely as possible to the development of all that is good for which the Christian home stands. It is also true that in many instances the modern boarding house does not contribute to higher ideals or to the development of Christian character. The Association has rendered distinct service in the housing of many men by the investigation of boarding houses and the directing of young men who are strangers in the city to boarding homes that are safe. During the past year 71,011 young men were so directed by the Association.

The Association apartments and the Association cafe are proving to be a great boon in the life of young men compelled to live away from home. The Association cafe is maintained on an economical basis seeking to provide wholesome food at cost or nearly so. The Association cafe is in a real sense a social service agency.

During the past year 115,895 different young men found a home in the apartments at the Association buildings. These young men were provided with rooms at a moderate cost amid surroundings that contributed to their moral and physical betterment.

In the beginning of the Association apartment movement, which is a modern feature of the Association, various plans were adopted. Some Associations were content to admit any applicant and had no requirements as to conduct. Some Associations were rigid in their rules and requirements and admitted only young men of positive Christian character. The present plan, which is practically universal, admits any young man who in the judgment of the Association may be benefited by the influence of the Association, and aggressive measures are adopted to bring to bear the influence of the Association on the young man's life. The limits of this paper do not permit the report of the campaign against drinking, gambling, stealing, and licentiousness in the lives of young men living in Association buildings. Suffice it to say that a visitor of observing mind described the method of an Association in dealing

with men to be that of "a hand of iron and a heart of flesh."

The Association does not seek to provide a permanent home for young men, but merely to provide a safe place for young men strangers in the city in order to help them get on their feet.

THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM

The Association is contributing to the solution of the industrial problem by enlisting men of the industrial classes in the membership, and also by promoting the thing for which the Association stands among men of industry through extension work at centers where these men are to be found. The holding of shop meetings, shop lectures, and shop Bible classes has enlisted the interest of thousands of industrial workers.

The most striking example of efficiency in industrial work is that of the railroad department. Two hundred and thirty-three railroad Associations are regularly organized and at work. These Associations have enlisted 83,466 railroad employees in the Association membership. More than seven thousand of these railroad men are serving on committees seeking to promote the work and ideals of the Association. The average daily attendance of railroad men at the Railroad Y. M. C. A. building is 52,207. Last year these men took 1,548,377 baths at the Y. M. C. A. The rest rooms were used 2,245,620 times, for which the men paid one cent per sleep. The lunch rooms served 5,913,809 meals. The temporary hospitals were used 7,156 times and Association representatives made 16,866 visits to sick and injured railroad men.

THE BOY PROBLEM

Whether we regard the boy as "a steam engine in breeches" or "an appetite with a skin stretched over it," he is at once our highest hope, our greatest asset, our sternest evil, and our largest problem. Upon him depends the future of the State and the nation. Twelve years ago there were twenty men engaged in special work for boys

in the Association. To-day there are more than four hundred boy workers, in most instances trained specialists whose lives are being devoted to the welfare of boys, which is just another way of saying "home, school, Church, and nation."

The Association reports a boy membership of 112,871, of which 72,621 are in school and 22,431 at work. The average daily attendance at Y. M. C. A. buildings is 34,520. The Association secured 5,600 situations for boys, enrolled 7,590 in educational clubs and 11,789 in educational classes. As a direct result of the work of the Boys' Department 1,291 boys united with the Church in a single year.

The boys' work of the Association is conducted for grammar school boys, which is meeting a difficult problem in a large way. Special work is being conducted for high school boys, which is an even more difficult problem. The time of adolescence is the period when the boy problem is the most serious. Boys, if lost at all to Church and to home, are usually lost during this period. The problem of the employed boy is receiving special consideration and study on the part of Association boy leaders. Another problem which is being met in large measure by the Association is that of the street boy. Many Associations maintain special departments or homes for street boys where satisfactory results are being achieved. The problem of the juvenile delinquent is recognized as a distinct province of the Association boys' department.

THE PROBLEM OF THE COLORED MAN

"If they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?" If the work of the Association is needed among the boys and young men of the white race, how tremendous must be the need among colored boys and young men! With temptations more fierce than those which assailed the average white young man and the absence of most of the safeguards which are afforded the white young man, what must be the result in the lives of our colored youth?

The Association has been projected into colored schools and colleges and into the city centers. Sufficient has been achieved to demonstrate the efficiency of the Association in this field of social service. There are 44 colored city Associations, with a membership of over 6,000 colored young men. The Association secured 1,093 positions for colored men, and has 1,414 men serving on committees. Educational, physical, social, and religious work is conducted with success.

The offer of Mr. Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, to provide \$25,000 for every city that will provide an additional \$75,000 for a colored men's Y. M. C. A. building has been taken advantage of in several cities and others are planning to do so. Not the least of the benefits accruing from the offer of Mr. Rosenwald has been the lively interest which his offer has created in the work for colored men even in cities which have not and perhaps will not meet his conditions in reference to the erection of a Y. M. C. A. building.

The largest contribution, however, which the Association is making in the solution of the problem of the colored young man is the enlistment of interest in his behalf by the white students of the South. Dr. Weatherford's book on "The Negro Problem" has been used in Association summer school conferences for students and has become a textbook in student and city Associations all over the South and beyond. The study of this book is creating a more intelligent and sympathetic interest in the problem of the colored man and is enlisting men in the South in the work of meeting the needs of colored young men.

THE IMMIGRANT PROBLEM.

The Association recognizes the opportunity offered for social service on behalf of the young man immigrant. The Immigrant Department of the Association is recognized as one of the permanent features of the Association's activities. It is not necessary here to recount the figures regarding the large number of immigrants coming to our shores. Suffice it to say that this increasingly large problem has

challenged the spirit of the Association and the Association has accepted the challenge. Association representatives are stationed at the principal ports of embarkation and get in touch with young men leaving for America. Association representatives are also placed on immigrant vessels in order that they may get in touch with young men during the voyage to their new country. At the port of entry other Association representatives are stationed, ready to greet the newcomer and assist him in every way possible in getting a foothold in the strange land. While in transit these young men are also safeguarded in every way possible in order to prevent their falling into the hands of unscrupulous vultures. Finally, when the immigrant lands at his new destination he finds a representative of the Association already familiar with his history and ready and willing to assist him in beginning his new life.

THE GREATEST PROBLEM OF ALL

The greatest problem which confronts the social service movement is the problem of leadership. The discovery, enlistment, and training of an adequate number of properly qualified leaders is the largest problem any good movement has to face. The progress of every human welfare movement is dependent upon leadership. Civilization itself is dependent upon leadership, religious leadership.

The Association recognizes this problem and is giving itself to the discovery and enlistment of men for all forms of Christian service and altruistic endeavor. Although it has not reached the age of threescore years, the Association has enlisted in the work of secretarial leadership nearly 4,000 experts whose lives are devoted to human welfare work through the agency of the Association. In addition to this the Association has more than 80,000 men serving on committees within the Association.

Dr. Shailer Mathews, the Chairman of the Federal Council of Churches, says: "Who is it that is concerned for the work of recruiting the ministry? Not pastors, not even professors in the theological seminaries, but the secretaries of the Young Men's Christian Association." The

Association has come to be the great recruiting ground for the work of the ministry. The work of John R. Mott, the world leader and Christian statesman, has perhaps contributed more toward the enlistment of men for the ministry and for missionary service than any other living man. This work has been conducted through the Association and by an Association leader.

The Association has appointed commissions for the study of the problem of recruiting men for social service. The work of enlisting additional secretarial leaders and that of enlisting a large number of lay leaders for all forms of service has occupied the time and attention of more than one commission and convention of the Association.

In the furthering of the social service movement the Association has undertaken what is known as the alumni movement, which seeks to discover in a given community every possible need for leadership and then through presentation to college students to enlist an adequate number of leaders to meet the needs that are discovered. This alumni movement bids fair to be one of the most efficient and far-reaching methods of service yet inaugurated by the Association.

The Young Men's Christian Association believes in the unity of man, and is therefore seeking to serve the whole man. All of the service which the Association undertakes it believes to have a religious value. Jesus sought to save society by transforming the individual. The Association is seeking to follow that program of social service and to save men's souls by transforming the conditions which destroy men's souls. It has been referred to as an agency of "first aid to the uninjured" and "first aid to better living." In following the command of Jesus, "Bear ye one another's burdens," the Association will promote every idea for the betterment of the lives of men and boys.

THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION
AND SOCIAL WORK

MISS ANNA D. CASTER

JUST two weeks ago in Richmond a thousand women and girls were gathered in old St. Paul's Church for the Fourth Biennial Convention of the Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States of America. They represented every State in the union, every evangelical denomination therein, and practically every interest of girls and women in the country to-day. It is significant that this first great national gathering of women in the South should have been one in the name of Jesus Christ. Visitors in the gallery spoke of something in the faces of the women and something in the quiet, serious atmosphere of every session which distinguished it from any other women's gathering they had ever seen. We who believe that there is power in Jesus Christ to control lives believe that these things were present because those women were picked leaders from the Churches of the land, women representing those churches in certain lines of social and religious activity which the Church has committed to its daughter, the Young Women's Christian Association.

In the Conference for Employed Officers, which followed the Convention, Dr. Charles S. Macfarland, speaking to over three hundred of these trained social workers, emphasized the fact that as the Federal Council of the Churches represents the evangelical Churches of America, so the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association represents the *women* of all these Churches in tasks best performed by women working together. He reminded his hearers that "the Association always foremost in the work of social amelioration has really been representing the Church there." Whatever success has come to the organization has been the Church's success. Consequently where there has been failure the Church and the Association must face it together.

It is necessary to explain briefly the National Board in order to make clear its relation to social work to-day. For years there were scattered Young Women's Christian Associations, too often only adjusted Y. M. C. A.'s, too often poor boarding houses for girls away from home started by women of kind heart but with no real philanthropic training, and having no features of membership, coöperation, standards, and spiritual life which mark the *real* Young Women's Christian Association. There were also many strong college branches and there were city Associations wherein were found the demonstrations of all-round service to general girlhood which have given the model the National Board is holding before its local Associations to-day. There were some industrial branches doing good work among employed girls. But there was no unity, no standard. Some had the basis of loyalty to Jesus Christ, some had not. A strong national organization was necessary if this child of the Church was to become the instrument for service it should be. Accordingly, in 1906, several hundred women assembled in New York from all parts of the country formed the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States of America. New York City was made headquarters and a strong board was elected which made Miss Grace H. Dodge its President.

The seven years since then have seen an increase of over eighty per cent in membership; the increase of the staff of National Board Secretaries from a mere handful to over one hundred and thirty; the removal of the national headquarters from a small suite of offices to a new twelve-story national building—the only national woman's building in the land; the development of a National Training School, which Dr. Graham Taylor says is one of the finest institutions for philanthropic training in the country; the organization of ten Field Committees in different sections of the country for intensive cultivation of those sections; the creation of a Foreign Department to coöperate with all Church Mission Boards in furthering women's and girls' interests in other lands; the establishing of coöperative relationships with other national and international bodies

for social, educational, and religious service; the making of successful experiments for work among professional women, for immigrant work, for Indian school service, for work among colored women; and the raising many points in Association standards throughout the country. This much has been done, and to-day the national Young Women's Christian Association stands, an effective, human machine with the throb of Christianity within it, ready to serve the world of girls and young women.

From the beginning there have been two distinct types of social work in the policy of the Association:

1. That which trains social workers.
2. The work among girls and women for the physical, intellectual, social, and spiritual development.

Usually these two are so interrelated that to tell of one is to bring in the other. For instance, in the six hundred colleges and schools where there are Associations, girls are not only being taught in Bible classes, but are hearing definite calls to world service, are attending vocational conferences led by the Association, are studying methods of social work, and are doing community service. It is safe to assert that 75 per cent of the young women in Church and philanthropic positions to-day have come from the ranks of college Association girls within the last fifteen years. This has been true on another side. Realizing the necessity of winning women to service by patient training, and looking past the immediate present, the professional Association worker has known it was wise to emphasize the place of the volunteer worker in every community and to train her by the laboratory method. Sometimes, through loyalty to this slogan of "Coöperation," the work has moved slowly and often in bungling fashion; but the result has been that hundreds of them have been won yearly and thus trained for efficient Church and social activity. Last year thirty thousand volunteer workers gave service through the Association. It has been worth while. Take as an illustration the following: A group of young women of leisure were formed into an extension chapter in one of our Southern cities. They studied over their teacups two afternoons in the month the

conditions of girls in the country and in their own city; they found the needs and the attempts to meet those needs; they learned how to approach other girls. At the end of two years the city is recognizing those young women as leaders, for it has seen them open up and man a branch of the Association in a neighboring mill village, it has watched them develop in many lines of work, it has learned that such girls are a part of the Association field as well as "the working girl," as some people call our employed women. It is said of a woman giving volunteer service in another city in the South that the entrance of this interest into her life has saved her from chronic invalidism.

There are those also who have developed leadership from the ranks of the less privileged girls. Five years ago in one of our South Carolina mill villages a young operative was attracted by the Glee Club and Association classes. After two years, having learned to save money, she secured a scholarship in a Methodist Church school and became a student there. All this past year she has been the night school teacher in her home Association—an inspiration to other girls, a joy to her coworkers. In June she is to be married in the Association building.

The Association has kept to its policy of preventive work, knowing that other agencies must look after the rescue interests, but coöperating with them. However, there has been a study of these phases of girlhood and womanhood in order that the preventive work might be intelligent and constructive. We have learned that efficiency must be intelligent and constructive. We have learned that efficiency must be related to the living wage, and have accordingly undertaken vocational guidance and developed in many places trades classes. In studying the economic and employers' point of view, we have often been able to bring about understanding between employer and the employee to the advantage of both. Men in whose industrial establishments there are Young Women's Christian Associations partly maintained by the owners, partly by the employees, assert that there are economic as well as social values in such work. Colgate's Soap and Perfume Factory, Larkin's,

Hershey's Village, where the well-known chocolate is made, mills under the Parker Cotton Mills Company in South Carolina, Dwight Mills, Alabama City, are a few of the many instances of industrial establishments where Association work is telling. Recently a group of cotton manufacturers were discussing hard times. Certain mills were cited as having failed to pay. "How about yours?" asked some one of a certain mill President. "O, the skies are always blue there," was the reply. And he related that fact to the efficiency of the operatives because of the work of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. This week a visitor to another village reports that one year of work therein has transformed the appearance of the village. And the women did it themselves through a club organized by an Association Secretary.

There has been decided toning up of community life through the touch upon individual life in the mill villages. Two years ago a Sunday school superintendent in one village could not read. This winter he was in the night school studying the second reader, and it is said of him that now he studies the Sunday school lesson all the week. A woman made President of a small club eighteen months ago has since learned to read and write and her two sons have studied with her. A group of village women celebrated their club birthday with a "banquet just like city folks," with attractive tables, flowers, music, and after-dinner speeches. They said afterwards that it was all fine, only that they "forgot to put the toothpicks on the table." A girl who had thought it necessary to take eight coca-colas a day learned, through a Camp Fire group of which she was a member, that she might earn an honor by discontinuing the use of the drink for one month. It was a fight, but she conquered and won the bead, and a health habit was permanently fixed. This Camp Fire work has proved a valuable ally in community effort, especially where wise women have adapted its principles to individual conditions.

A year ago an Association Secretary was placed in a large department store in the South Atlantic Field to co-operate with the young women there as our local student

secretaries work with girls in women's colleges and normal schools for the promotion of their interests. The latest report from a floorwalker in the store is that there is great improvement in manners, marked increase in efficiency and store loyalty, and decided growth of a sense of responsibility of girl to girl and woman to woman. In this store there are early morning classes in arithmetic, salesmanship, English, store etiquette; they have lunch room, rest room, and emergency medicine chest; they have social good times. So far we have not been able to use the Association name, because of certain local prejudices, but the secretary employed is a recognized member of the staff of the Central Association in the city, and she relates the employees to many activities therein.

Last year in a North Carolina city an Association club was organized in the large hosiery mills. In January of this year the firm placed on their pay roll the name of the young woman who became General Secretary there. Since then classes have developed, club nights have been held, the firm gave a piano, while the girls bought songbooks, basketball teams have been started, a garden club is making beauty spring up about the mill, caps and aprons have been made for wear during work hours, home conditions have been studied, and new relations are being established between these contributors to the city's welfare and the city's womanhood as a whole. It is significant that when the girls met to discuss subjects for class study the first thing asked for was a Bible class. There are other classes, of course, and there are also lectures on health, savings, standards of living, etc.

The purpose of the *city Association*, as expressed in the Constitution suggested by the National Board, is "to associate young women in personal loyalty to Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord; to promote growth in Christian character and service through physical, social, mental, and spiritual training; and to become a social force for the extension of the kingdom of God." The present section of this paper must state the relation of the Southern Associations and cities to that purpose.

Two Field Committees are operating in the Southern States. One, with headquarters in St. Louis, supervises work in the South Central States; the other, recently organized, with headquarters in Charlotte, has supervision of the South Atlantic States, from Virginia through Florida. Neither of these committees is responsible for work done locally before their organization; neither, since they are supervisory agencies, can force local Associations to adopt national standards if the local board members prefer narrow outlook and methods. Both are coöperating with many cities at the present time to help make the Association the civic and religious institution it should be in their midst—a force for social righteousness in the entire community, and a link in the chain of womanhood round the world. Both are waiting for a chance for further coöperation with other cities which should be doing more effective work. Thousands of dollars have been invested in St. Louis, Nashville, Chattanooga, Charlotte, Athens, and Richmond within the past four years, that these cities might give to their Associations adequate working bases. In *these* Associations work is being done that is telling on the business, industrial, and leisure girls of the city.

New city Associations have been opened in every State and organized along approved lines. Other cities are asking for the work, but because of lack of sufficient financial coöperation for field work so far in these States we have not large enough staff to permit us to answer quickly. In several cities we are being kept from organizing work at the present time because women of influence therein object to the word "Christian" in our name, and yet in them girls are asking for the Association because it *is* Christian, with the ideal of all-round service to all types of girl by coöperation with the girl herself. If, as we all believe, "the task of the age is spiritual, social reconstruction," men and women representing the Church need to know more widely that these two committees exist to serve every individual town, county, college, and city in the entire South. We ask the privilege of directing the organization of any work attempted in order that it shall not be done halfway by

those who do not know how. Social service these days, we all agree, demands expert leadership.

The word "county" is used advisedly, for some rural work is being done and much of it is to be done. Dr. Eggleston, in his address in Richmond, called on the Association for more activity in rural work in the South. Nine counties in the country are already giving their girls joy in country life through the County Y. W. C. A. Miss Jessie Field, known for her work in Page County, Iowa, has become our national secretary for rural work. She has accepted this call because her knowledge of the country girl has convinced her that that girl needs the Young Women's Christian Association. The effect on the community is illustrated by the following: Several years ago an Association was organized in an Illinois county. A branch was established in a small township where no Church existed any longer. The members met in the railroad station, as there was no other building to use. Various lines of community work developed. Now, after months of service and growth in community interest, these young people have bought a lot for a *union* church. We, who recognize that one of the problems of the country Church is *country churches*, know the wisdom of their plan for this union meeting place.

The rural Association as it develops will help to solve the city problem. We are finding in our cities—Southern as well as Northern—girls who, when asked, "Why are you here?" say: "O, it grew so tiresome back in the country." They are by no means efficient girls in the work in which they are employed, nor are they used to city living. Contrast this with the girls learning the beauty of life about them, having clubs and classes and Bible study, winning prizes for good vegetables grown, for good food cooked, for good sewing done, singing songs that tell the virtues of their very own township, rejoicing in their own Association. Already in the South the National Board has made one big contribution to rural life in coöperating with the Virginia Department of Education in initiating the work of Miss Ella Agnew, now under the United States Department of Agriculture. The South Atlantic Field Committee is looking

for the woman who can become rural secretary on its staff and for some one to supply the salary for that secretary. Three counties await organization until such worker can be secured.

Before this Southern Sociological Congress the Association's work *among negro women* must not be overlooked. For more than four years a colored secretary, trained by the National Board, has been working under the supervision of white women resident in the South. She has traveled quietly among the schools, emphasizing the need of everyday religion, the virtue of simple, honest living, and has been helping to train leaders of her own race. Our present colored student secretary is a graduate of Cornell Agricultural College, an earnest, level-headed young woman. She naively asked a senior secretary recently if she was right in speaking to the schoolgirls on cleanliness and sanitation rather than in just making religious addresses. A simple form of the Association organization exists in a number of schools and several student conferences have been held for colored girls.

Colored city work has also been begun under a trained leader, and a generous friend has recently given the National Board the salary for this worker. The ideal for this work is that it shall be a branch in each city under the supervision of the Central Young Women's Christian Association. This ideal is being reached slowly, as some of the work was started some years ago without trained leadership and in an inadequate way, and of course has to be reconstructed. But both the student and city work are already proving that the organization which has developed able leaders among white girls and women can, under *their* guidance, make leaders also for the colored race.

The pioneer in *Travelers' Aid* work, the Association movement is now leading in the attempt to form a national Travelers' Aid organization which shall join all forces and serve boys and young men as well as girls and young women. In many cities the Association has conducted all the Travelers' Aid interests for years. This has led the Panama Exposition Committee and the Federal Council of the Churches

to turn to us for handling the big question of protective and constructive work among girls and women during the Exposition of 1915. A special secretary has been in California for some time. Plans are made for a building, which will be the only woman's building on the grounds; careful preparation is being made to care for the probable two hundred thousand unattached young women expected; warnings are being given against girls going to San Francisco for work, since the place is already overstocked with workers. One thousand girls and women employed in the grounds will be the objects of special recreative and religious activities both next year and in 1915. Strong men will speak in the building day by day on religious and philanthropic subjects.

The democracy of the movement has been evident in the success with which girls and women of all classes have been served by the Association, have served one another in it, and have found common interests. In this woman's age it must be through woman working shoulder to shoulder with woman that the problem of women can be solved. The demands for economy of administration make it necessary that a united and national organization shall do it, rather than that each individual Church and community shall experiment at greater cost. That the national Association movement is awake to present needs will be proved to any one who reads the four Commission reports made to the Richmond Convention. They were on "Thrift and Efficiency," "Character Standards," "Social Morality from the Christian Standpoint," "The Training of the Volunteer Worker." The following extracts are quoted from these reports:

1. Thrift means more than frugality, more than prudent management. Thrift means living a balanced life. It means thoughtful investment in money and moral values. . . . The ability to spend measures too often the American woman's power to attain social prominence. To this fact may be attributed in a measure the lavish expenditure on nonessentials. Recommendation: That the Associations assembled in convention record their sense of setting better standards for the women of our country in the use of money, time, and ability.

2. Character Standards.—As we face our responsibility to the young

women whose narrow, aimless, superficial lives must be transformed to breadth of purpose, steadfast, deep, and true, we realize that only as Jesus Christ himself becomes the great redeeming standard can we hope to see character made strong instead of flabby, and life a throbbing dynamo of power. Our work will be finished only when every girl has come into the experience of vital faith in Jesus Christ and a joyous allegiance to him, and has caught his enthusiasm for life spent in service for others.

3. **Social Morality from a Christian Standpoint.**—We, as a body of Christian women organized to further social, physical, intellectual, and spiritual development of normal womanhood, are under obligation to promote knowledge of the fundamental facts of life, to arouse sympathetic attitude toward them, and to call forth the power whereby this knowledge shall make for individual and community morality. Recommended: That the Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States give their approval to the widespread promotion of social morality from the Christian standpoint.

4. **Training of Volunteer Workers.**—The obligation rests upon the volunteer worker to assume responsibility and to be as faithful in performing her task as though she were an employed worker. . . . In order that every volunteer worker may have the steadfast purpose which sends her forth to Christian service, she should engage in regular Bible study. The source of all the social service which so nobly characterizes this century is found in the teachings of Jesus Christ. The Christian worker needs to study this teaching and learn of the Master the true spirit of service.

Each Commission report contained a detailed program of action. Eagerly the delegates reported the adoption of each report and therefore individually committed themselves to effort in their local Associations to carry these things into effect. The Convention requested the National Board to prepare textbooks and leaflets in connection with the program suggested. These Commission reports are the marching orders for the next four years for thousands of young women. We need the Church's strongest backing that the campaign shall be victoriously carried through. If it is true, as Dr. John Timothy Stone told us the other day, that the Association is part of the Church as much as is any minister, then we know that every man in the Church is going to help us realize our best in our work. We are reminded by leaders in the Church that we are "the only woman's organization doing nonsectarian social work on an avowed evangelical basis"; but with no proselyting,

serving girls of all faiths and of no faith. We have made a foundation. We need the Church's strongest coöperation in order to do a larger, more effective service in the years into which we look to-day. This is especially true in the South, where the work is younger and more is to be done.

DENOMINATIONALISM AS AN AID AND AS A HINDRANCE TO THE KINGDOM OF GOD

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IN the treatment of this subject I am requested to take the word "denomination" as referring not only to religious differences which separate Christians from one another, but also to those which divide, for example, Jews from Christians. In other words, I am to speak of the divergences between all who may be classed together as believers in any real sense in the kingdom of God, whether Christians or only theists.

This is obviously a difficult and even delicate subject. We are a Sociological Congress. Our membership is not confined to any one class of religious people, nor to religious people at all. Some of the most valuable thinkers on sociological subjects, as well as most efficient social service workers, are not believers in any religion. In fact, just as being an earnestly religious man does not make one necessarily a good chemist, so it does not necessarily make one an expert in handling many of the questions which press for solution and which come up for discussion in such a Congress as this. We owe the very word "sociology" to Auguste Comte, a man who repudiated belief in God, or whose only Deity was the generalized conception of mankind. We religious people, of whatever name, ought to be glad to coöperate on this platform and out in the world with all persons who desire to benefit their fellow men.

On the other hand, I trust it will not be considered out of place if I urge upon all humanitarians and philanthropists

and social workers the importance of religion from the social point of view, and discuss the subject assigned to me, the variations of religious belief as an aid and as a hindrance to the kingdom of God, which is our term for the goal of human society.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD

First of all we must define our term. "The kingdom of God" is a time-honored phrase and one that has had various meanings assigned to it in the course of its development through the centuries. The Old Testament prophets foretold the coming of the kingdom, and John the Baptist announced it as "at hand." Jesus of Nazareth took the phrase out of John's mouth, so to speak, but the meaning he attached to it was not the same in all respects that John had given to it. The two thousand years of the Christian Church show also variations in the interpretation of the phrase. It has been by some identified with the Church—her ecclesiastical organization; and by others it has been projected into the next world altogether.

There are also radical differences of opinion as the means by which the kingdom is to be established on earth. Some seem to think there is no place for the Church; then there is the very serious difference between Jews and Christians, the latter believing generally that it is only through faith in Jesus Christ that the kingdom of God will ever be established in this or any other world.

But there is one central idea that must necessarily be accepted by all who believe in the kingdom of God at all. It is involved in the very phrase, no matter how interpreted, "the rule, or reign, of God." As the author of the one hundred and third Psalm puts it: "Jehovah hath established his throne in the heavens; and his kingdom ruleth over all." The universe is the kingdom of God. There is a present actual reign of the Almighty. It may not be satisfactory. It may not be the goal at which we aim. But in the acknowledgment of the present actual reign of the Eternal God lies the only hope of any ultimate reign of justice, fraternity, and love.

This present reign of God includes, first, all nature. "The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament showeth his handiwork." The scientist, whether he knows it or not, is, in Pascal's fine phrase, "thinking God's thoughts after him." The laws of nature, so called, are only God's ways of doing things, God's habits. Opposition to science on the part of religious people is not only unreasonable, it is essentially irreligious. The scientist is, *pro tanto*, a revealer of God's will.

In the next place, the kingdom of God in this broad sense includes not only nature but humanity, all the nations of the earth. There is a philosophy of history. Nations exist for a divine purpose, and the student of history aims to learn what that purpose is: both the end at which things aim and the laws of historical growth.

And then, what is more directly to our present purpose, taking all of life as included in the kingdom of God gives a divine sanction to the new science of sociology, the science of human fellowship. Man is essentially a social animal. He cannot come into his own except in association with his kind. Human society is not, certainly not in the last analysis, based on any contract. It is based on the fundamental truth that society is the only sphere in which man can be man. Now this involves certain laws of association in obedience to which the members of society can become truly themselves. "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." It is the business of sociology to discover these laws of truth, at least so far as man is a creature of this present temporal order. He may be more, a child of God and heir of eternity. But he is certainly a denizen of earth, and believers in his divine origin and ultimate destiny need to coöperate with experts in sociology concerning a sphere common to the two views of his nature and destiny.

THE ULTIMATE KINGDOM OF GOD

But however strongly we hold to the kingdom of God as a present actuality, we cannot stop there. Just as the Old Testament prophets contrasted the sovereign reigning at any given time with the ideal sovereign and saw the necessity of

the coming of another King who should reign in righteousness and wisdom, so we, looking at the world as it lies now beneath our eyes, know that if this is the kingdom of God it is not that kingdom in its ultimate development. We may even borrow a political phrase and say that if God reigns he does not altogether rule. Many do not acknowledge his sovereignty. Many do not obey him. No doubt disobedience is always visited with penalty, and in that very real sense God's government is actual; yet there must lie in the future a perfected kingdom in which there shall be no disobedience, but only justice, fraternity, and love.

May we define that ultimate state of the kingdom of God in at least general terms and so as to be acceptable to all who believe in the kingdom of God at all? I believe that we can. In the sixth century before Christ the prophet Ezekiel (xxxvi. 26, 27) thus spake: "A new heart will I give you; and a new spirit will I put within you; and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh. And I will put *my Spirit within you*, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep mine ordinances, and do them." True this is limited in the next verse, the 28th, where the prophet says: "Ye shall dwell in the land that I gave to your fathers; and ye shall be my people, and I will be your God." But later development of prophecy extends this blessing to all mankind. And at any rate we have our needed definition. The ultimate kingdom of God means the Spirit of God in us. Mark two things. Note, here, first, the kind of obedience to God which this assumes; a spontaneous obedience to the laws of wisdom and truth. The Spirit of the living God dwelling in men will carry out the idea of another prophet, Jeremiah: "I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it; . . . and they shall teach no more every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord." Here we have the ultimate synthesis and harmony of those two great facts which may almost be said to constitute together the problem of human life: the fact of authority, rooted in God, and the

fact of human liberty. The clash between these two is over, in the perfected kingdom of God, because God's Spirit dwells in men. We may even here call attention, in passing, to the degree of truth contained in the position of the so-called philosophical anarchist: the idea that government, considered as a measure of external restraint, is an evil. Both external restraint and also religious teaching are but temporary expedients. In the perfected kingdom of God there shall be no churches and no policemen.

Note, next, that while the perfected kingdom of God must stretch on into eternity it must have as its aim the conquest of material civilization, and must express itself in a perfect social order. It must mean the fulfillment of that prayer and effort, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven"; and thus must be taken both individually and socially. We may even offer as a sort of rough-and-ready working definition of the kingdom of heaven, "a perfect social state in which human beings shall have learned how to get along with God and each other."

THE NECESSITY OF RELIGION TO SOCIOLOGICAL WORK

Still holding in abeyance the immediate topic of this paper, I wish to urge upon all social service workers the necessity of religion. I think all believers in the kingdom of God in any sense, by whatever means to be established, would agree on these propositions: We all need faith in some ultimate *purpose* as inhering in the Great First Cause. Without a Power that governs this universe and has some definite aim, and is also a good and loving Power, sociological reforms must ultimately lose inspiration. There must be

"One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves."

The doctrine of evolution does not dispense with God. The ablest expounders of that doctrine agree that it does not necessarily imply progress. Besides, without a kingdom of God, a goal toward which things move, we have not even any definition of progress worthy the name.

True enough, some believers in God seem to take no interest in doing good in the world, and some unbelievers do take such interest. These are exceptional cases. Both are inconsistent; and inconsistency, we may remark, is the salvation of the heretic, but the damnation of the orthodox.

True again that pragmatism is in the limelight to-day, pragmatism which denies or ignores the Absolute and makes truth a relative thing, a thing in the making. But after pragmatism has made its contribution by insisting on truth's making good in experience, it will be found to be otherwise built on the shifting sands and not on the rock. "We do not know whither we are going, but we are on the way," will not suffice for human progress, unless taken in the old religious sense of the typical man of faith, Abraham, who went out "not knowing whither he went," but trusting in the God that called him.

It is all very well to sing, with the poet of humanitarianism,

"O may I join the choir invisible?"

but if all religious faith should ever be abandoned—an absurd supposition—and men should accept what this great poem (for it is a great poem) really means, that in a time to come, be the years few or many, all sentient life will have disappeared and it will not then make any difference anywhere in this great universe whether we have helped to carry the burdens of others or have shifted on to others our own—if, in one word, we should ever throw overboard faith in God and the future life, we should discover that there was nothing left worth living or dying for. If a ship should throw overboard its compass and rudder and boiler and engine and chart and should stop looking at the polestar, it would find that it did not encourage the crew.

The other consideration we would urge is, that when the social reformer makes his appeal, as he must, to the moral sense within, and tells men that they "ought" to do so and so, he is implicitly appealing to something which he explicitly denies the very existence of. He has no fulcrum for his lever to rest on. His "ought" is an imaginary thing suspended in the air. Even the great agnostic

and prophet of evolution, Mr. Herbert Spencer, admits this in idea if not in words. When the point had been brought home to him that he had no right, on his premises, to use the word "ought," he replied that every man "may consider himself as one of the myriad agencies through whom works the Unknown Cause; and when the Unknown Cause produces in him a certain belief, he is thereby *authorized* to profess and act out that belief." What is that but to ground the principle of moral obligation in the moral being of God, barely concealed behind the veil of an "Unknown Cause"?

And so we believers in God and his kingdom appeal to all sincere workers for the uplift of mankind to get onto our platform; but, at the same time, there is a *modus vivendi*. Religious organizations and organizations for social betterment may join hands in one portion, at least, of the Lord's Prayer: "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." "Lead us not into temptation"—that is the prayer for a satisfactory set of external conditions, an object the Church and all social reformers can have in common; "deliver us from evil"—that is, from the inner evil, the cause of all other evils—viz., sin. That is the peculiar sphere for the activity of the Church.

RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES

Standing, then, on the proposition that the kingdom of God, present and future, is the only lasting basis for human society and the only sufficient inspiration and guide for social reform, we are prepared to take up intelligently the question of religious differences as an aid and as a hindrance to the kingdom of God.

Let us take up the second point first, the hindrance. Obviously and undeniably, it seems to me, denominations, religious organizations standing for differences sufficient to separate them from other organizations, are a hindrance to the kingdom of God. Passing by lesser and unimportant variations, there are different conceptions as to what the kingdom of God is and as to the method and means by which it is to be established. For example, the Christian believes that the kingdom of God is to be established through faith in Jesus the Christ. All theists—that is, theists and nothing

more, including Jews—deny this. As a result of these differences, the testimony of religious people to the reality of the kingdom of God is weakened, and the forces for its establishment are divided and thrown more or less into a position of antagonism to each other.

If we turn now to the divisions inside the Christian Church, the same is found to be true. The mission of the Christian Church is to bear witness to Jesus Christ as the revelation of God to man; and, further, to bring to bear the divine-human power of the incarnation upon all life, with this as its ultimate purpose and goal, that "the kingdom of this world shall become the kingdom of our God and of his Christ." In a word, the oneness and power of the Christ are to be manifested. Well, then, did the apostle Paul ask, referring to the partisan spirit which threatened to break up the Church at Corinth into contending fragments, "Is Christ divided?" Our Lord Jesus Christ, in his great high-priestly prayer, prayed that his followers might be one, in order that the world might believe in his mission. And whatever differences of opinion may exist as to just what this oneness meant, it seems beyond dispute that our Lord meant some sort of unity which would be visible to the heathen. It is asking a little too much of the heathen world to believe in and be satisfied with the spiritual oneness which unites all Christians beneath the surface. This oneness is indeed, to us Christians, a blessed fact and the only hope of any other unity, but it is a matter of faith with us, a "conviction of things unseen, an assurance of things hoped for." It is not visible to the naked eye, especially of a heathen; and because we are "one Spirit," we ought to be also "one body." St. Paul compares the Church to a single body. Does the unity of personality residing in the human frame of an individual suffice for the daily activities of life, when the body is divided against itself? Ought not the unity of personality reveal itself through one body?

DENOMINATIONALISM AS AN AID TO THE KINGDOM

May not these differences serve also as an aid to the kingdom of God? I answer unhesitatingly, with certain qualifications, in the affirmative. We must here take up once

again the question of the nature of the kingdom of God. The kingdom we have seen is the reign of the Spirit of God in the souls of men. Now the Spirit is the Lord of life, and life is never dead uniformity. No one has stated, I think, the application of this truth in the spiritual life more forcibly than the apostle Paul, where he speaks of the "diversities of operations" of the one Spirit, and the diversities of gifts, such as wisdom, knowledge, faith, healing, discerning of spirits, etc. Nature has never yet shown us a tree with every leaf on it exactly alike, and this is a parable of the spiritual life. But the leaves of the tree, it should also be noticed, all partake of the same life and all conform to the form of that kind of a leaf, the oak leaf being always an oak leaf, and so on. My point is, that while it is perfectly true that life would be dull indeed if all men held precisely the same opinions on all subjects, we must distinguish between views which are antagonistic and those which are harmonious. The kingdom of God, whatever else it may be, is a kingdom of *truth*, and contradictory propositions are not both true. Variety may be the spice of life, but it ought not to be purchased and does not have to be purchased at the expense of truth. What we want and what, one may undertake to say, we shall have in the perfected kingdom of God is unity and variety; and variety made up of supplementary, not contradictory, and harmonious, not discordant, phases of truth, beauty, and goodness.

If one may venture an illustration on a lower plane, a game of baseball would be dull enough, or rather impossible, if each player held exactly the same position—if each man were pitcher, for example, and there was no one to play catcher or first base; but team play does not require that the pitcher should spend his time quarreling with the other players or that all should fight the umpire. There is wonderful variety in mathematics, but this does not mean that it would be a desirable thing for one man to say that twice two was four and another to shout himself hoarse that it was five. We do not wish to hear an orchestra of many pieces all playing exactly the same parts, but we do want the several instruments to be in tune and to play in harmony with one another.

Truth is infinite and no one sees it all and no one will ever see it all. But the several visions, being partial, must also be, to repeat the statement once again, supplementary and harmonious.

Now with that idea of what we are all aiming at, or ought to be aiming at, the question of the part that ought to be played by denominations seems perfectly clear. While we are on the way to the goal of the perfected kingdom, it is inevitable that differences should emerge which are not only different, for the time being, but antagonistic. Unless we are all to be governed by some power that tells us the truth and allows no personal liberty and gives no training in judgment, we must be permitted to make some mistakes and to find out through experience that we are mistaken. It is not necessary to be a Roman Catholic to believe that we can all infallibly arrive at the truth ultimately. A God who would, as it were, cast men upon a sea with no chart and no chance of finding a chart and with no certainty of ever weathering storms and coming into port would be, at least to my mind, an unbelievable God. But the question is, How are we to arrive at the truth? And whatever our theories on the subject, the method by which the human race is actually arriving at the truth on religious as on all other subjects is one that involves the permission of honest differences of opinion, the truth or falsity of which is to be tested by comparison and experience. Christ laid down the rule, or rather stated the principle, that "he that wills to do God's will shall know of the doctrine." This is an educational plan which involves no compulsion by external authority, but rather a gradual training of the judgment, with the certainty that everybody will make mistakes; and the most successful ones are simply those that make no fatal mistakes.

I venture to state and apply to human history as a whole what one has pointed out in reference to the evolution of art—viz., that progress involves four stages: First, solidarity; secondly, breaking up into unrelated parts, or parts the relation of which to each other is not at first perceived; thirdly, the service and relation of these parts; and, lastly, solidarity again, but a solidarity in which each part finds

its true self in its true place, and the whole is animated by the Spirit. We may trace these four stages in the Bible, the only literature which has a world plan and deals with things as they are while pointing to the future. The solidarity of the race is brought out in the first eleven chapters of the book of Genesis. Then comes the separation into Jew and Gentile, neither regarding the other as sustaining any true relation to itself or to one whole; next is the dawning perception that God is the God of the whole human race, and that each nation has its part to play in the one drama of life; and finally, we enter, on the day of Pentecost, upon the last stage, in which the tower of Babel is reversed and humanity begins again to become one, animated as never before with the Spirit of the God of Life, variations becoming more and more supplementary to each other and contributory to the richness of the whole. We find that these same stages apply to the Christian Church; at least, the first three, with a prophecy of the fourth. From the beginning of the Church down to the Middle Ages there was developed solidarity. Then, at the Reformation, came the breaking up into unrelated parts, or parts the mutual relations of which were not perceived. We are now living in the third stage, in which there is felt by an increasing number of Christians of all names that there is a service to be rendered by every denomination that stands for any great principle; that all Christians sustain a relation to the same Christ and toward each other. "Hereby know we that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren."

If I have stated the philosophy of history with any approximation to truth, we are entering upon, or upon the verge of the last stage, that of Christian and Church unity, with a solidarity that shall bring the united power of all Christians to bear upon lifting the world's great load of sorrow and sin; a solidarity which shall, however, give to every denomination that stands for anything really worth while and to every individual that is really an individual, a definite place in the kingdom of God. Our theoretical analysis of the necessity of differences is borne out by history—the history of the world and the history of the Church.

Humanity has been broken into pieces in order that it may come together again; the Christian Church likewise has been broken into pieces that it may come together again. Did not one of God's ancient prophets say of the separation of God's people of old that God had separated them and that God would bring them together again? True, this scattering of the sheep is due to bad leadership, and is so attributed by the prophets. But the philosophy of history is not obtained from the human will alone. There is a providential ordering of the world and of the Church. And so Jeremiah writes in the name of the Lord: "Hear the word of Jehovah, O ye nations, and declare it in the isles afar off; and say, He that scattered Israel will gather him, and keep him, as a shepherd doth his flock."

And so it would seem to be a part of the providential ordering of the world that on our way toward unity there should be not only differences but, for the time being, antagonisms. There would seem to be no other way of working out the problem of unity and variety.

Denominational differences are to make this contribution toward the kingdom of God, that they work out, or are intended to work out, different phases of the one completed whole. They are thus an aid to the kingdom of God.

But a word of caution is necessary. Denominations are both an aid and a hindrance to the kingdom. Obviously there should be the constant aim to minimize the hindrance feature as much as possible with a view to its ultimate entire elimination. A separate religious body should be sure that its separation is justified by the importance of its distinctive principles. There should be something more important, for example, than the question of whether persons are to be baptized forward or backward.

Again, denominational loyalty should not be suffered to degenerate into denominationalism.

"A little learning is a dangerous thing;
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring,"

wrote Pope. But a little learning is not always dangerous—only when we take it to be the whole. If a little learning were always dangerous, then all knowledge would be dan-

gerous, since none of us know it all. A little learning is good if we realize that it is a little. And so denominational differences are bad and without justification when held in a spirit of exclusiveness; they are helpful when held in subordination to the whole of which they form a part.

I may here notice an objection to Church unity made by a speaker at this Conference, based on the fact that members of one religious organization are more apt to quarrel with one another than members of different organizations when gathered together as in this Sociological Congress.

But the reason for that is, we are here conferring on a practical program; and when the different religious bodies of the world, especially different Christian denominations, get together on the practical object, not of maintaining their creeds (the value of which I do not disparage), but of bringing God's kingdom upon earth, the same harmony will prevail and we will pull together and not apart.

CONCLUSION

Let us have in view as the goal of all our endeavor the kingdom of God, understood as fundamentally the reign of God's Spirit in the hearts of all men. Seeking that common object, we shall draw nearer and nearer to each other and our differences shall be more and more supplementary and less and less antagonistic. Let us have our own convictions and respect those of others. An honest man ought to hold that his creed and his denomination are better than the creed or denomination of others, else he ought to leave that and join one that is better. Let each one accept the responsibility that attaches to such a claim. Let each one consider himself under bonds to make a better contribution to the uplift of human life than others do.

So shall we all be humble and all be loving, and, at least, in ourselves all be true.

fourths of all the pupils leave below the seventh grade, that many of those who go higher are not trained for efficient living, that many of them are without adequate will power, without sufficient moral dynamics, calls us to further inquiry.

The gospel of play is but poorly preached. Our people are overamused and undertrained in the art of relaxation. Only 336 cities in the whole country have public playgrounds and only a few of these trained directors. Recent civic and political revelations have sickened us all.

Our commercial and industrial methods are paying a terrible toll to the god of greed. Five hundred and thirty-six thousand are killed or maimed annually, thirty-five thousand men killed outright, and there are two million injured—most of which is due to insufficient protective measures. If these injured every year were placed on cots, side by side, with passing space between, the line would reach from New York to San Francisco. Six millions of weary women, most of them underpaid, many of them poorly clad and underfed; two millions of tired children, many of them hungry from morning till night (in a single city five thousand children went hungry to school every day)—all cry aloud for help, for a chance to achieve themselves in a world largely dominated by heartless machinery. If these patient women were seated side by side, they would line the Atlantic coast from Portland, Me., to Key West, Fla., and from Key West would reach to Galveston, Tex. If the children were sitting side by side, they would reach from Toronto, Canada, to Tampa, Fla. We are beginning to see that we are weaving the failing nerves of our future mothers into the clothes we wear and coloring our gorgeous apparel with the lifeblood of our helpless little ones.

The institutional population of our country might be called the scrap heap of our civilization. There are now, in round numbers, 115,000 in prisons, 25,000 juvenile delinquents (25 per cent of whom are defective mentally), some 87,000 in almshouses, 82,000 in permanent homes for adults, some 27,000 in temporary homes, almost 100,000 in orphanages and children's homes, 190,000 insane in asylums, costing \$21,000,000 annually. Insanity has increased in the

last fifty years 300 per cent, the population 183 per cent. There are 150,000 feeble-minded inside and outside of institutions, 58 per cent of whom are under twenty years of age, and 85 per cent under thirty; also 85,000 deaf and dumb, 66,000 blind, and 75,000 in hospitals. All this is, in part at least, the result of exceeding the speed limit.

Along with this new social consciousness has come a new social conscience that has drawn the sword of the spirit and is preaching with compelling power the gospel of discontent. We are beginning to feel that somebody is responsible. Those higher up can seldom if ever again defy public sentiment as did the coal kings, and it will not be long till Mr. Spreckles, in California (who just the other day, upon hearing of an impending strike among his workmen, is said to have coolly closed his desk and gone fishing for an indefinite time, leaving no address behind,) will be compelled to face the consequences of such conscienceless conduct. It will not be long till such corporations as that in Chicago whose president recently admitted that his concern made \$7,000,000 last year, and that they could have doubled the wages of their working girls without perceptibly diminishing their profits, will be forever impossible. The normal social heart is right at bottom and is even now demanding a square deal for all.

With the coming of a new social consciousness and a new social conscience we are in sight also of a new industrialism. The former generation organized its commerce and its industry around the machine and the dollar; the next will organize them around the man. We shall then no longer ask, when results are inadequate, "What is the matter with the machine?" but, "What is the matter with the man?" Capacity tests are already applied to determine what place the individual can best occupy in the industrial army. If he is color-blind, for example, he is unfit for the position of a railroad engineer. When once he has found his place scientific management seeks to hold him to the most effective methods. It is found that at so simple a work as shoveling coal 140 men can do the work of 500—wages raised two-thirds and expenses cut in half by scientific preparation of the shovels and by scientifically determining the amount of each shovel-

ful, the best movements, etc. In so ancient a craft as masonry 30 men are made to do the work of 100—cost of building cut in half, wages raised and return quadrupled by scientifically determining how the bricks must be handed to the mason, what kind of trowel must be used, and with what movement of the hand. Big business at last discovers that its chief work is educational, that the making of men must be thought of before the making of money. This condemns big business to moral reform. It is not strange that one of its apostles, walking out one morning and seeing one of his employees drunk on the street, sent him home in a cab, went to his office and wrote an order that every man in his employ must sign the temperance pledge. The cigarette fiend is rapidly being excluded from all responsible positions. Corporations are beginning to inquire as to the domestic felicity of those seeking employment. Only the other day a man high up in railroad circles was dismissed for no other reason than that he was unhappy at home. In many concerns the employees are regularly called together in educational conferences. "Your money's worth or your money back" is the pledge of every decent store. The big concern can no longer be indifferent to the failure of the small. Corporations are planning to give one day's rest in seven and the eight-hour day is well-nigh established.

The employer, the employee, and the public are coming to be recognized as parties to contracts.

With the new industrialism there has come a new civic ideal. The old-time boss is gone; so the cheap politician. Men must now embody the platform on which they stand. The rise of the common people in a new democracy, in which every man shall count as one, has come to stay. Moral legislation is slowly tightening its coils about the liquor traffic and kindred anti-social forces. The increasing number of dry States and the passing of the Webb bill indicate the approach of the end. The government is more than a big stick.

The new note in education is rapidly shifting the emphasis from accumulation of facts to achievement of character. In legislating the Church out of the school we had also cast religion out; but now, with one accord, educational

leaders are searching for some method by which they can bring it back and make it supreme.

Not the least important of all are the new tendencies in religion. The emphasis has shifted from the individual to the social, from the first to the second commandment. We are realizing at last that it requires four persons to set up all the phenomena of the kingdom of God: two in filial fellowship with the Father and each other, and both working together with God upon at least one on the outside. The question of the eighteenth century with reference to Christianity was, "Can it be made to square with the human reason?" that of the nineteenth, "Can it be made to square with the results of scientific research?" that of the twentieth is, "Of what use is it?" The ancient prophets are now seen to be, primarily, not mere foretellers, peeping into the future and writing history in advance; but forth-tellers, thundering with divine impellment against social wrongs and pleading with divine authority for social righteousness.

It is strange that the social note of the Lord's Prayer should be only now beginning to grip the heart of the Church. "Our Father," "Give us this day our daily bread," "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors," "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." No man can make that prayer with its full meaning except under the spell of universal brotherhood. Indeed, the emphasis of Jesus is upon the kingdom of God, which is nothing less than a community of regenerate persons living together in filial loyalty to the Father and fraternal service to each other and the world. It at least includes an economic order ruled by unselfish love. This regrades our sins and makes those most damnable which, whether seen or unseen, inflict the greatest injury upon the largest number. Have the barroom, the social evil, economic maladjustment, and poverty come to stay? "Not if the Lord's Prayer has come to stay."

Religious experience now seeks expression in religious service. Men are asking, not "Give me a chance to testify," but "Give me something to do." We have ceased to pray about going into eternity and are trying to live in eternity now. We are feeling our commission, not only to evangelize the individual, but to help create a social order in which he

can best achieve himself in service. The new place of religion in the world is nowhere better attested than by the recent call of China for prayer and the impression it has made upon Christendom.

This commission to Christianize society has brought with it the new social science. A thousand have been hacking at the branches of evil for one who has been striking at its roots. But we are now asking the causes of distress and sin. We are even going back into the prenatal life for the genesis of crime and character. The hydra-headed monsters that reach out in every direction and blight everything they touch have come not by chance but by law. Even the criminal is not an accident, and we are now studying him, not to condemn, but to save.

The task of social regeneration is giving us a new correlation of redeeming forces. A refreshing interdenominationalism is on the increase. The home, the Church, the School, the State and municipality, commerce and industry are all coming together for a united effort to put the downmost on his feet and bring the struggling to their own.

And perhaps most hopeful of all is the new social faith. More and more poverty and the economic conditions back of poverty have been looming up. In 5,000 dependent families in New York studied by Dr. Devine, 70 per cent were found to have come to grief from lack of health, and only 17 per cent from drink. We are feeling more and more the disturbing power of maladjustment, and have not only declared relentless war on poverty, but upon the conditions that bring it about. We have at last called for its abolition as one of our accepted tasks. The pestilence is gone, war must go. And so, by the grace of God, must flinching poverty. Away with the practical fatalism which makes misery the appointed lot of God's children, our brethren, anywhere on the earth. The trumpet tones of an awakening nation are renewing the ancient challenge: "The kingdom of God is at hand!"

These great movements, then, are back of our Southern efforts. The new social consciousness, the new social conscience, the new industrialism, the new civic ideal, the new tendencies in religion, the new social science, the new cor-

relation of redeeming forces, the new social hope—all are God's challenge to the sunny South. What answer shall we give? There are half a dozen possible attitudes toward any great contemporary movement: we may deny that it is here, we may defy it, we may ignore it, we may temporize with it, we may honestly miss it, we may intelligently use it. Which shall we do? It were better never to have felt this new enthusiasm than to let it die unused.

There are also certain conditions in the South that make this the hour of the Southern Church for social service.

The first of these is the new city. In 1870 we had 63 towns of 3,000 and over; in 1900, 263; probably now at least 300. This means the decimation of the country. Does it mean that the country Church must go, too? There have been three great social centers in rural districts: the store at the crossroads, the gristmill, and the Church. None of us can ever get away from the memories of the old country churchyard. Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the tabernacle of our God, in the hill of his holiness. Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole neighborhood, is old Cross-Swamp, on the sides of the north, the habitation of the great King. God was known within her walls for a refuge. For, lo, the neighbors assembled, the men gathered together, sat on the big log and tried the great current issues, civic and social, as well as burning doctrinal questions. There old feuds were settled and new friends and lovers made. There community ideals were formed and maintained. There the circuit rider came in his gig with news from the great outside. There the hungry found food, the weary rest, and the prodigal the way home. There our fathers and mothers, our brothers and sisters are sleeping under the shade of the big trees. God save the country Church!

But we are drifting toward a "landless man and a manless land." More than half a million farms in the South are cultivated by renters. Alien syndicates are buying up vast acres and absentee landlords are increasing. Not a few of them are introducing vicious standards. A New Yorker is said to have built a dog hospital in Virginia costing \$30,000, while its caretakers live in houses costing \$250.

Only immediate concerted effort by all the Churches to create better conditions, better schools, better roads, better social advantages, and more cultured influences can hold the country.

But this movement brings also new city conditions, not the least of which is social stratification. Men who have made fortunes in towns and on large farms are seeking the city for what they can get, rather than for what they can give. They are concerned chiefly with keeping taxes down and revenues up without regard to public weal or private woe. The efforts of these selfish, ignorant, idle, irresponsible rich at playing the "four hundred" are a travesty on real culture. They are to refinement and culture as the comic supplement, the funny paper, is to art.

Then there are the idle poor without ambition, without imagination, without hope for themselves or their children. And both these leeches on society are outside the Church. In Fort Worth, a year or two ago, of the 4,100 dependents, not one was affiliated with any Church. Many of the honest, industrious middlemen have also been lost in the crowd.

Shall we have a factory type distinct in itself? Men have laid down the tools that they owned and gathered about the machines of their employers. Must they have a Church all their own under the very shadow of the high steeple?

Shall we have slums? Shall we have the apartment with all its shriveled life? Shall we continue to multiply boarding houses without parlors and without privacy, with all their gossip, irreligion, and lechery? Shall we have clean amusements and innocent sports? Shall we have ample playgrounds and parks? Shall the city be clean and beautiful? Shall we be rid of hideous billboards and the parading of vice? Shall the atmosphere of our streets be sweet and wholesome? Shall we have a constructive daily press that will suggest only virtue? These questions the Church must help to answer.

There are such things as community atmosphere, tradition, and ideal, which are invisible, but all-pervasive and all-powerful. These generated during the community's formative period. Our population is at bottom largely homoge-

neous, and it is not too late for the Church to save our cities. If not the Church, who can? If not now, when?

Not less important in some ways is the relation between the Church and labor. We are coming to a better understanding between the Church and the union. In the first place the unions themselves are feeling their need of the Church and of what the Church stands for. They have not yet been reached by that anti-Church and anti-religious sentiment, born of the materialistic conception of history so prevalent in Europe. They must more and more recognize their need of the moral and spiritual dynamic for which the Church stands. They will more and more lay stress upon the efficient life which the Church helps to perfect. We cannot blame them for their indifference hitherto, for the Church has not been without its faults. "But what," you say, "can the Church do for the labor unions?" John Mitchell, one of labor's best exponents, indicates six respects in which the Church might help them in their efforts for social betterment:

1. Legislation that will enable men and women to live in a manner conformable to American standards, to educate their children, and make adequate provision against sickness and old age.
2. The eight-hour workday, which gives an opportunity for the cultivation of home life, the enjoyment of books, music, and wisely employed leisure.
3. Legislation prohibiting the employment of children of tender years.
4. Laws providing for the safeguarding of the lives and limbs of workers engaged in dangerous occupations and compensating the workman for losses caused by industrial accidents.
5. A progressive improvement of the sanitary working and housing conditions of wage-earners.
6. The preservation of the constitutional guarantees of trial by jury, free speech, and a free press.

No one not in touch with the labor unions can appreciate the class feeling among them. The proletariat has accepted labor, not only as his method of earning a livelihood, but largely as his religion. He feels tremendously the righteousness of his appeal for a chance to make a life while he makes a living, and values men according to their response to that appeal. It ought to be impossible for any

Christian man to deny any one of these claims made by Mr. Mitchell, for they are human and have divine sanction. I have reason to know that in some places, at least, in the South, labor unions will meet us halfway. I have the honor myself to represent the Protestant Ministers' Association of Fort Worth, and two of my brethren represent the Methodist Preachers' Conference in the same body. We are received there with the utmost cordiality and consideration. It was a delight to me to march with the laboring people in their parade last Labor Day. Most of the preachers were raised on the farm, came up from among the laborers. Why should we not remain in personal touch and fellowship with them? Why should we not stand with them in their humanitarian efforts? The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has declared for the fundamental principles for which these organizations stand. We are beginning to feel that we have no right to cast that first stone at the labor unions because they have been led into wrong, for the Church has killed more people than the labor movement and cannot challenge comparison with them for crimes that have been done in the name of God and humanity.

This is the time for us to reach the labor unions, if ever. You are, of course, aware of the rapid inroads Socialism has made among them. It is claimed that Socialists are increasing four times as fast as the population of the United States. And the Industrial Workers of the World are a new menace.

And the Church needs the unions. What a right arm these thirteen millions organized in the American Federation of Labor alone would be for social service! The opening of the Panama Canal will bring problems with which labor can help us. We are facing new conditions in the South. We can no longer look out upon the world as from some secluded far-away isle. The immigrant's first American touch is with labor, and no other agency can be so efficient in Americanizing them as the union. When the Mayflower reached our shores she brought all the noble ideals and institutions of Europe; but no other ship will ever bring such a cargo. What the South is to be depends largely upon

how we meet the foreigner, and none can help us half as much as the union.

Perhaps it is not necessary that I should dwell upon the negro, and yet some things may be said not without profit. The ascent of this race among us has been little less than miraculous. In fifty years he has shown his capacity for self-achievement. He has acquired wealth amounting to several hundred millions of dollars, including twenty million acres of land and more than five hundred thousand homes. He is raising a million dollars a year in support of his educational institutions. He has developed a professional class fifty thousand strong, including musicians, musical composers, poets, painters, sculptors, actors. Whether the negro is capable of education is no longer a question, and whether he has a soul (which most of us have heard discussed in our day) can no longer be asked. We made the mistake at the close of the war of preventing our own people from teaching the negro. It was a natural mistake, and we would make it again, and so would any people in like situation. But it was a mistake nevertheless. The result was that men and women with the best intentions, but ignorant of our needs and our traditions in the South, came as missionaries, with sentiments noble and right, yet without ability to adapt these sentiments to our local situation; and both races are now reaping the results. Surely after fifty years we ought to be able to meet on common ground, and with a mutual understanding for securing the preservation of race integrity, and strike hands in a common effort for mutual betterment. Their needs impel Christian effort, and we must believe in the sufficiency of the gospel for them, or deny its efficacy for ourselves.

I shall never forget the appeal made to me by a Southern bishop in one of his Annual Conferences, and through me to the people I represent, for help for his people. I had given an address to the Conference on the ascent of the race, and he replied in an address of more than an hour, with tremendous feeling, but without the least suggestion of bitterness. He said in substance that he had no prejudice against the white man. White people were his people, and the South his land. Here he was born and here

he would be buried. If any man had a right to have bitterness, he was that man. He remembered slavery. He had seen his mother take five of her seven children to the auctioneer's block to be sold to the highest bidder. He had seen her, with streaming eyes, kiss the five good-by and send them in different directions, most of them never to be heard of again. He had felt the wrong his people endured. They create, he thought, 75 per cent of the wealth of the South, most of which goes into the coffers of the white man. He is powerless to help himself. He is often cheated out of his wages. The white man paid the negro more to be bad than he did to be good. He gave case after case of their girls sent into homes to be domestic servants, only to come back moral wrecks. He had helped to make a survey of a Southern city in which he found 3,200 of his people in the underworld, many of them living in gorgeously furnished homes maintained by prominent white men. He gave case after case of insult offered to their women without redress. They were a weak people, a thousand years behind us in race evolution. All the power was ours, the wealth was ours, the social prestige ours. No matter how much right the negro had on his side, justice was impossible in the courts. He might have told also of lessons of treachery taught by Southern white women when, with gifts and high wages, one steals another's cook. He must have repeated scores of times: "Your people pay my people more to be bad than they do to be good!" Yet in it all the only feeling evident was unutterable grief, unspeakable suffering, without even a shadow of resentment. The negro himself is discovering that he must look to us first of all for help. Shall he look in vain? By to-morrow it may be too late.

Time forbids to speak of the Indian other than to say that the true history of our relation to him is anything but creditable, and when his story is finally told he will appear in a new light. And this ought only all the more to compel us, not only to give him his rights now, but the Christian extra also; for if you give men only their rights, what do ye?

Then there is the mountaineer, called by Ambassador Page a few years ago "the forgotten man," a million and a

half strong. In his veins is the purest Anglo-Saxon blood. Theirs is a world all their own. Arrested in their development, shut in their mountain fastnesses, and left with their ancient traditions and code of morals, shall they be exploited by predatory greed? Or shall they be inspired, led, and helped to go the upward way with us, their brethren?

This, then, is the situation in the South. The new city, the beginnings of new social stratification, the new relations between the Church and labor, the new immigrant, the negro, and the forgotten mountaineer suggest that this is the hour for the mother Church to awake and call for her baby. There are signs also that the baby, grown to full strength and vigor, is coming back for the mother's touch, the mother's help, the mother's spirit, the mother's blessing. This, then, is a strategic moment in our Southern situation. The next ten years will probably mean more for the permanent type of social life than any twenty-five ever to come again. The mother is awake and is calling for her baby. The baby is coming, and her children with her. This is a new hour for both, for all.

THE CALL AND QUALIFICATIONS OF SOCIAL WORKERS

HENRY F. COPE, D.D., GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE RELIGIOUS
EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

THOSE who would be of service socially do not need to wait for a call from above the skies; they can hear it from across the street. The heavenly call is humanity's cry. A passion for people and a faith in human possibilities—these are the call and qualifications of every social worker.

The attempt to save the world by mere mechanical readjustments is like trying to heal a disease by changing the clothes. The social worker is more than a reformer; his service means the chance to control social conditions for the

sake of forming the new generations. This is his vision, to make the new humanity.

The call to social work is a call to build up rather than to tear down. It makes us see this civic, social life as the soil in which character is formed. We seek physical betterment, industrial justice, recreational opportunities for the sake of the man and woman who must grow by them into greater moral and spiritual efficiency.

Social work is a chance to help grow a better, finer race. The social worker who starts in the spirit of regulating the neighbors, enforcing his habits on others, is bound to meet disaster; but the highest service awaits those who seek to make this world, their city and village, the place where it is easier to go right than to go wrong, where it is natural to grow aright.

The call of social workers is the call of an enlightened passion. The pitiable failures have been those moved by emotion, by ignorant feeling. If we would have a sufficient supply of workers, if we would make sure that all the youth of to-morrow are animated by this passion, it is our task to-day to train them in the spirit and laws of this service.

The most serious test of a school and college is whether it animates youth with the spirit and informs them in the principles of social living and service. Do our public schools fit for public living? Are not many colleges merely culture beds for selfish snobbery? Is it not often true that the saddest opposition met by social workers is due to the class spirit and selfish materialism developed in the schools?

It is folly to speculate about the calling of the social servants who are already mature and in service; we want to make sure of the inspiration and calling of the youth who will have to carry this work forward. What are our homes doing to make social servants out of our children? Most people are anxious to reform the down-town wards, but the big reforms have to come in our own houses, in our own way of interpreting life to our children. We need a generation of a new spirit, and this must come from the training of children in the spirit of love and service and social obligation.

It is time that social workers turned from tinkering this poor old framework of society, trying to cure a cancer by calico patches, long enough to ask, What are the causes of social ills? to ask, What is the use of reorganizing conditions when we are educating a race to perpetuate old conditions? Social workers need a vision beyond soap and brooms, and beyond ordinances and laws, to see the need of changes in the hearts and habits of men. If you would reconstruct society, you will have to work where men are made in character, in homes and schools. Some day we will realize the wisdom of the question always asked by the sophomore, What is life for, anyway? At present we are a people who follow the business of living without inquiring as to the purpose of the business. When you go through a village, you note its industries, you inquire as to what they make or what they market. We know cities by their factories. We have come to think that communities exist for no other purpose than their industries. Is it not time to ask, What is a community really for?

Will we ever be able to lift our eyes from the loom and see the fabric? Can we ever learn to look further than the letters and see the poem? Are we so leaden-eyed that for us forever a community must mean houses and lots and groceries, wagons and trading, and never mean souls, persons, lives growing like the fairest flowers or it may be the most baneful weeds?

A community of people is a social grouping for the purposes of protection and mutual assistance in life's ultimate purposes. Its organization and conduct ought to be determined by its ultimate purpose. That principle we can apply in the widest range of our political affairs. Apply it to democracy and you will see its importance.

Democracy means the organization of the State for the sake of the welfare of the people, not for a constitution, not for a form of government, but the direction of all the energies of the State for the growth of persons in the State. You may know whether this is really a democratic nation, not by declarations of independence, nor by Fourth of July orations, nor by any forms of vociferations about rights

and freedom, but by this: Is this social order formed and guided for the prime purpose of making the State the very best place possible for the development of human lives?

A democratic State sets people before politics. Its prosperity is in the enriching of the very lives of all its people. It is not democratic because it gives the strongest a free chance to trample down the weaker. It is not democratic because it leaves every man free to follow the lusts of his own heart, to sow the seeds of his own vices, and to poison the air with his own contagions. That may be a form of freedom, but it is not democracy. Democracy is the organization of the State to the end that the very best conditions of life may obtain for all, that all that hinders the full life of all may be repressed, and all that helps may be fostered.

There is one outstanding and essential qualification for all social workers: they are distinguished by the fact that they work for the sake of the eternal social values in persons and they work by means of social conditions. There is constant danger that social workers mistake means for end, that they labor for the perishing bread as an end and not through it as a means. Social workers keep the spiritual aim in mind; they seek to clothe the naked, feed the hungry, release the bound; they seek to pave streets, clean up alleys, provide playgrounds and parks—not because these things are in themselves beautiful, desirable, and decent, but because they are tools to a finer purpose, they are the agencies which promote a better breed of humanity, they constitute the conditions under which character develops.

The business of a social worker is growing a constantly better type of social factor, a better race of people, and doing this by steadily laboring to enrich and improve the soil in which people grow and to remove from it the briers, undergrowth, and noxious weeds, to drive from it the foes that would trample down the tender new life springing up and ride roughshod over the soul's fine growth. They are the friends of decency and order, not because they enjoy respectability, but because they determine that all life shall make for the best in life in all.

We indict the social foes, not because they disturb our peace and offend our taste, but because they poison the moral atmosphere in which children grow, they set obstacles in the way of youth's upward path, they cast snares before the feet of the unwary, they make it harder to go right than wrong, they combine to make social conditions a soil in which the soul grows rank and foul and poisonous.

No matter how much we may love to regulate the affairs of our villages and cities, how much we may enjoy drawing charts for other folks' travel, how much we may like to play with public affairs, nor how successful we may be at this game, we cannot be social workers unless above all other passions is our passion for men and women, our high determination that life shall mean the largest, fairest, and most helpful opportunity for them. We are not efficient social workers unless we clearly see how all social conditions, sanitation, recreation, occupation, wages, and commerce, are simply the tools with which we follow our great work of making the very souls of men. We work for a living wage simply that men may have the chance to find life. We agitate for sanitation for the sake of the soul and its physical backing in a healthy body. We fight child slavery so that children may grow into full soulhood, instead of automatic drudges at industry's wheel. We denounce child slavery, not because it is sectional in this country, but because we know that no nation can rise any higher than its own valuation of a child, its own placing of those who constitute its life to-morrow; that to degrade the child to greed is to doom the next generation, and so to degrade the very life of the nation. We fight for the rights of the oppressed because we know that the measure of a nation is its inner ideals, and these are determined by its habitual conscience. You may know the worth of a nation by its attitude to the weakest in its midst. We seek economic justice and freedom because these are the conditions under which each man is at liberty to find the finer, higher life of selfhood, of the soul. We seek justice because no man can have that freedom so long as, while doing his duty, he is in fear of any other man.

All social service is then a means to an end; that end is the growth of persons into a godlike quality, fullness, and efficiency. The social worker's aim is in character; to lose sight of this is to become a mere drudge with broom and shovel, a server of tables and trailer after aldermen. To see all service as for the divine purpose of giving every life the chance to grow, to have life yet more abundantly—this is to share our work with the noblest of all workers, to be lifted to a divine fellowship of service.

X. ORGANIZATION

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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE CONGRESS

PURPOSES AND MEMBERSHIP

THE purposes of the Southern Sociological Congress are to study and improve social, civic, and economic conditions in the South. Its membership shall be composed of all persons interested in its work who shall register their names and pay the annual fee. The members shall be of the following classes: Regular members, \$2 per year; sustaining members, \$10; life members, \$100. Any person paying any of these fees shall receive a copy of the proceedings and of any other publications of the Congress. Delegates to the Congress may be appointed by the Governor of each State coöperating with it, by Mayors of cities in these States, and by organizations and institutions engaged in social service, and, upon payment of the membership fees, shall be entitled to all privileges.

MEETINGS

The Southern Sociological Congress shall meet once each year, at such time and place as may be designated by the Committee on Time and Place, except that it shall meet with the National Conference of Charities and Correction when it meets in the South. During each meeting the President shall appoint a committee of five members whose duty it shall be to determine the time and place of the next meeting, the amount for local and general expenses to be raised by the local committee, and announce its conclusion within three months after its appointment. All invitations from cities shall be referred to this committee. There shall be a local committee in each city having a meeting of the Congress, and it shall be the duty of this committee to provide any necessary funds and make all local arrangements for the meeting satisfactory to the Executive Committee.

OFFICERS

The officers of the Southern Sociological Congress shall be a President, First and Second Vice Presidents, a General

Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Corresponding Secretary for each State. All of these officers shall be elected annually by the Congress upon nomination of the Committee on Organization.

COMMITTEES

The standing committees shall be an Executive Committee; a committee on each subject which it is proposed to discuss at the next meeting of the Congress, to be appointed by the Committee on Organization; and a committee, composed of the Chairmen of these standing committees, whose duty it shall be to report a social program before the close of the Congress, and to which committee all resolutions shall be referred without debate.

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the Treasurer, one member from each Southern State, to be elected annually by the Congress, together with the ex-Presidents of the Congress. The members of the other standing committees shall likewise be elected annually.

The President shall at the opening session appoint a Committee on Organization, whose duty it shall be to select topics for discussion and nominate officers and committees for the following Congress.

The Executive Committee shall have power to transact all necessary business in the interim between the meetings. It may appoint sub-committees to attend to matters of detail. Meetings of the committee shall be called by the President, and five members shall constitute a quorum during the sessions of the Congress and three members in the interim between meetings.

DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President shall be the chief executive officer and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Congress. He shall generally supervise the work of the committees, and shall have power to accept resignations and fill vacancies among the officers or committees. In the event of a vacancy in the office of President, it shall be filled by the First Vice President; and in the event of a vacancy in the office of

First Vice President, it shall be filled by the Second Vice President.

The General Secretary shall be *ex officio* Secretary of the Executive Committee. He shall conduct the correspondence of the Congress with officers, committees, and others under the direction of the President. He shall distribute the announcements and programs and keep a correct roll of members. He shall receive all membership fees and proceeds of sales of the reports of the proceedings, and pay the same promptly to the Treasurer. He shall receive such compensation and allowance for expenses as may be fixed by the Executive Committee, and shall perform such other duties as shall be ordered by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall receive and disburse all moneys of the Congress. All disbursements shall be made only upon the order of the General Secretary, approved by the President or by some member of the Executive Committee to be named by the President.

The retiring President of the Congress and the General Secretary shall have charge of the editing and publishing of the Proceedings.

The Corresponding Secretaries shall endeavor to stimulate interest in the Congress in their respective States, and shall render annual reports to the General Secretary as to social, civic, and economic progress within the said States.

PROGRAM AND PROCEDURE

The program for each annual meeting shall be arranged by the President in consultation with the Chairman of each standing committee, and it shall be submitted to the Executive Committee for its approval.

All papers shall first be presented to the Executive Committee before they are read to the Congress.

AMENDMENTS

These by-laws may be amended by a majority vote at any meeting of the Congress, provided that all amendments shall first be submitted to the Executive Committee.

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REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL PROGRAM

It was the sense of your Committee that for this year the Congress should reaffirm the program adopted at the Congress in Nashville in 1912, as follows:

To us it seems that this Congress must stand—

For the abolition of the convict lease and contract systems, and for the adoption of modern principles of prison reform.

For the extension and improvement of juvenile courts and juvenile reformatories.

For the proper care and treatment of defectives, the blind, the deaf, the insane, the epileptic, and the feeble-minded.

For the recognition of the relation of alcoholism to disease, to crime, to pauperism, and to vice, and for the adoption of appropriate preventive measures.

For the adoption of uniform laws of the highest standards concerning marriage and divorce.

For the adoption of the uniform law on vital statistics.

For the abolition of child labor by the enactment of the uniform child labor law.

For the enactment of school attendance laws, that the reproach of the greatest degree of illiteracy may be removed from our section.

For the suppression of prostitution.

For the solving of the race question in a spirit of helpfulness to the negro and of equal justice to both races.

For the closest coöperation between the Church and all social agencies for the securing of these results.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONGRESS

Resolved, That the Southern Sociological Congress, in convention assembled, heartily indorses the work of the Federal Children's Bureau and earnestly petitions the Congress of the United States to grant to this Bureau adequate appropriation for the task assigned of investigating and reporting upon all the facts relating to children and child life in this Republic.

Resolved, That the members of the Southern Sociological Congress do hereby express their enduring appreciation of the faithful service rendered by the officers and their assistants; of the hospitality of the people of Atlanta; of the work done by the local committees and the attention given by the newspapers of Atlanta; and in particular do we express to Mrs. Anna Russell Cole, of Nashville, our profound gratitude for the great service which she has rendered to humanity by her munificent material support of the work of this organization.

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